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Which *Memorandum*, if the Det[illegible] of two Kings may be believed, is sufficient to satisfy the World, how much that King was imposed upon by Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of *Exceter*.

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KING *Charles* the *Second*, and the Duke of *York*, did both (in the last Session of Parliament, 1675. when I shewed them in the Lords House, the Written Copy of this Book, wherein are some Corrections and Alterations, written with the Late King *Charles* the *First*'s own Hand,) assure me that this was none of the said Kings compiling, but made by Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of *Exceter*, which I here insert for the undeceiving of others in this Point, by attesting so much under my Hand:

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ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ

IN

ANSWER

To a Book Intitul'd

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,

THE

Portraicture of his Sacred MAJESTY
King CHARLES the *First*
in his *Solitudes* and *Sufferings*.

By *John Milton*.

Prov. 28. 15, 16, 17.

15. *As a roaring Lyon, and a ranging Bear, ſo is a wicked Ruler over the poor People.*

16. *The Prince that wanteth Underſtanding, is alſo a great Oppreſſor, but he that hated Covetouſneſs ſhall prolong his Days.*

17. *A Man that doth violence to the Blood of any Perſon, ſhall fly to the Pit; let no Man ſtay him.*

Saluſt. Conjurat. Catilin.

Regium imperium, quod initio, conſervandæ libertatis, atque augendæ reipub. causâ fuerat, in ſuperbiam, dominationemque ſe convertit.

Regibus boni, quam mali, ſuſpectiores ſunt; ſemperque his aliena virtus formidoloſa eſt.

Quidlibet impunè facere, hoc ſcilicet regium eſt.

Amſterdam, Printed in the Year, 1690.

THE PREFACE.

TO diſcant on the Misfortunes of a Perſon fallen from ſo high a Dignity, who hath alſo pay'd his final Debt both to Nature and his Faults, is neither of it ſelf a thing commendable, nor the intention of this Diſcourſe. Neither was it fond Ambition, or the Vanity to get a Name, Preſent, or with Poſterity, by Writing againſt a King: I never was ſo thirſty after Fame, nor ſo deſtitute of other hopes and means, better and more certain to attain it. For Kings have gain'd glorious Titles from their Favourers by Writing againſt Private Men, as Henry *the* 8th. *did againſt* Luther; *but no Man ever gain'd much Honour by Writing againſt a King, as not uſually meeting with that force of Argument in ſuch Courtly* Antagoniſts, *which to convince might add to his Reputation. Kings moſt commonly, though ſtrong in Legions, are but weak at*

Arguments; as they who ever have accuſtom'd from the Cradle to uſe their Will only as their right Hand, their Reaſon always as their left. Whence unexpectedly conſtrain'd to that kind of Combat, they prove but weak and puny Adverſaries. Nevertheleſs for their ſakes who through Cuſtom, Simplicity, or want of better Teaching, have not more ſeriouſly conſider'd Kings, then in the gaudy Name of Majeſty, and admire them and their doings, as if they breath'd not the ſame Breath with other Mortal Men, I ſhall make no ſcruple to take up (for it ſeems to be the Challenge both of him and all his Party) to take up this Gauntlet, though a Kings, in the behalf of Liberty, and the Common wealth.

And farther, ſince it appears manifeſtly the cunning drift of a factious and defeated Party, to make the ſame advantage of his Book, which they did before of his Regal Name and Authority, and intend it not ſo much the Defence of his former Actions, as the promoting of their own future Deſigns; making thereby the Book their own rather then the Kings, as the benefit now muſt be their own more then his, now the third time to corrupt and diſorder the Minds of weaker Men, by new Suggeſtions and Narrations, either falſly or fallaciouſly repreſenting the State of Things, to the diſhonour of this preſent Government, and the retarding of a general

general Peace, ſo needful to this Afflicted Nation, and ſo nigh obtain'd, I ſuppoſe is no Injury to the Dead, but a good Deed rather to the living, if by better Information given them, or, which is enough, by only remembering them the Truth of what they themſelves know to be here miſ-affirm'd, they may be kept from entering the third time unadviſedly into War and Blood-ſhed. For as to any moment of ſolidity in the Book it ſelf, ſtuft with naught elſe but the common Grounds of Tyranny and Popery, ſugar'd a little over; or any need of anſwering, in reſpect of ſtaid and well-princip'd Men, I take it on me as a Work aſſign'd rather then by me choſen or affected. Which was the cauſe both of beginning it ſo late, and finiſhing it ſo leiſurely, in the midſt of other Employments and Diverſions. And if the late King had thought ſufficient thoſe Anſwers and Defences made for him in his life time, they who on the other ſide accus'd his Evil Government, judging that on their behalf enough alſo hath been reply'd, the heat of this Controverſie was in likelyhood drawing to an end; and the further mention of his Deeds, not ſo much Unfortunate as Faulty, had in tenderneſs to his late Sufferings, been willingly forborn; and perhaps for the preſent Age might have ſlept with him unrepeated; while his Adverſaries, calm'd and aſſwag'd with the Succeſs

of their Cauſe, had been the leſs unfavourable to his Memory. But ſince he himſelf, making new appeal to Truth and the World, hath left behind him this Book as the beſt Advocate and Interpreter of his own Actions, and that his Friends by publiſhing, diſperſing, commending, and almoſt adoring it, ſeem to place therein the chief Strength and Nerves of their Cauſe, it would argue doubtleſs in the other Party great deficiency and diſtruſt of themſelves, not to meet the force of his Reaſon in any Field whatſoever, the force and equipage of whoſe Arms they have ſo often met victoriouſly. And he who at the Bar ſtood excepting againſt the form and manner of his Judicature, and complain'd that he was not heard, neither he nor his Friends ſhall have that cauſe now to find fault; being met and debated with in this open and monumental Court of his own erecting; and not only heard uttering his whole mind at large, but anſwer'd. Which to do effectually, if it be neceſſary that to his Book nothing the more reſpect be had for being his, they of his own Party can have no juſt Reaſon to exclaim. For it were too unreaſonable that he, becauſe dead, ſhould have the liberty in his Book to ſpeak all Evil of the Parliament; and they, becauſe living, ſhould be expected to have leſs freedom, or any for them, to ſpeak home the plain truth of a full

and

and pertinent Reply. As he, to acquit himſelf, hath not ſpar'd his Adverſaries, to load them with all ſorts of blame and accuſation, ſo to him, as in his Book alive, there will be us'd no more Courtſhip then he uſes; but what is properly his own Guilt, not imputed any more to his Evil Councellors (a Ceremony us'd longer by the Parliament then he himſelf deſir'd) ſhall be laid here without Circumlocutions at his own Door. That they who from the firſt beginning, or but now of late, by what unhapineſs I know not, are ſo much affatuated, not with his Perſon only, but with his palpable Faults, and Dote upon his Deformities, may have none to blame but their own Folly, if they live and dye in ſuch a ſtrooken blindneſs, as next to that of Sodom *hath not happen'd to any ſort of Men more groſs, or more miſleading.*

Firſt then that ſome Men (whether this were by him intended or by his Friends) have by Policy accompliſh'd after Death that Revenge upon their Enemies, which in Life they were not able, hath been oft related. And among other Examples we find that the laſt Will of Cæſar *being read to the People, and what bounteous Legacies he had bequeath'd them, wrought more in that Vulgar Audience to the avenging of his Death, then all the Art he could ever uſe, to win their Favour in his life-time. And*

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how much their intent, who publiſh'd theſe over-late Apologies and Meditations of the Dead King, drives to the ſame end of ſtirring up the People to bring him that Honour, that Affection, and by conſequence, that Revenge to his dead Corps, which he himſelf living could never gain to his Perſon, it appears both by the conceited Protraicture before his Book, drawn out to the full meaſure of a Maſking Scene, and ſet there to catch Fools and ſilly Gazers, and by thoſe Latin *Words after the end,* Vota dabunt quæ Bella negarunt, *intimating, that what he could not compaſs by War, he ſhould atchieve by his Meditations. For in Words which admit of various Sence, the Liberty is ours to chooſe that Interpretation which may beſt mind us of what our reſtleſs Enemies endeavour, and what we are timely to prevent. And here may be well obſerv'd the looſe and negligent Curioſity of thoſe who took upon them to adorn the ſetting out of this Book: for though the Picture ſet in Front would Martyr him and Saint him to befool the People, yet the* Latin Motto *in the end, which they underſtand not, leaves him, as it were, a Politic Contriver to bring about that Intereſt by fair and plauſible Words, which the force of Arms deny'd him. But quaint Emblems and Devices begg'd from the Old Pageantry of ſome Twelve Nights Entertain-*

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ment at White-Hall, *will do but ill to make a Saint or Martyr: and if the People reſolve to take him ſainted at the rate of ſuch a Canonizing, I ſhall ſuſpect their Calendar more then the* Gregorian. *In one thing I muſt commend his openneſs who gave the Title to this Book,* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *that is to ſay, The Kings Image; and by the Shrine he dreſſes out for him, certainly, would have the People come and Worſhip him. For which Reaſon this Anſwer alſo is intitul'd* Iconoclaſtes, *the famous Surname of many* Greek *Emperors, who in their Zeal to the Command of God, after long Tradition of Idolatry in the Church, took Courage and broke all Superſtitious Images to Pieces. But the People, exorbitant and exceſſive in all their Motions, are prone oft times not to a Religious only, but to a Civil kind of Idolatry in Idolizing their Kings; though never more miſtaken in the Object of their Worſhip; heretofore being wont to repute for Saints, thoſe faithful and couragious Barons, who loſt their Lives in the Field, making glorious War againſt Tyrants for the common Liberty; as* Simon de Momfort, *Earl of* Leiceſter, *againſt* Henry *the Third*; Thomas Plantagenet *Earl of* Lancaſter, *againſt* Edward *the Second. But now with a beſotted and degenerate baſeneſs of Spirit, except ſome few, who yet retain in them the Old* Engliſh *Fortitude*

and

and love of Freedom, and have teſtified it by their matchleſs Deeds, the reſt imbaſtardiz'd from the Ancient Nobleneſs of their Anceſtors, are ready to fall flat and give Adoration to the Image and Memory of this Man, who hath offer'd at more cunning Fetches to undermine our Liberties and put Tyranny into an Art, then any Britiſh King before him. Which low dejection and debaſement of Mind in the People, I muſt confeſs, I cannot willingly aſcribe to the natural diſpoſition of an Engliſh *Man, but rather to two other Cauſes. Firſt to the Prelates and their Fellow-teachers, though of another Name and Sect, whoſe Pulpit ſtuff, both firſt and laſt, hath been the Doctrin and perpetual Infuſion of Servility and Wretchedneſs to all their Hearers; and their Lives the type of Worldlineſs and Hypocriſie, without the leaſt true Pattern of Vertue, Righteouſneſs, or Self-denial in their whole Practice. I attribute it next to the factious Inclination of moſt Men divided from the Public by ſeveral Ends and Humours of their own. At firſt no Man leſs belov'd, no Man more generally condemn'd then was the King; from the time that it became his Cuſtom to break Parliaments at home, and either wilfully or weakly to betray Proteſtants abroad, to the beginning of theſe Combuſtions. All Men inveigh'd againſt him, all Men, except Court-*

vaſſals,

vaſſals, oppos'd him and his Tyrannical Proceedings; the Cry was univerſal; and this full Parliament was at firſt unanimous in their Diſlike and Proteſtation againſt his Evil Government. But when they who ſought themſelves and not the Public, began to doubt that all of them could not by one and the ſame way attain to their Ambitious Purpoſes, then was the King, or his Name at leaſt, as a fit Property, firſt made uſe of, his doings made the beſt of, and by degrees juſtified: Which begot him ſuch a Party, as after many Wiles and Struglings with his inward Fears, imbolden'd him at length to ſet up his Standard againſt the Parliament. Whenas before that time, all his adherents, conſiſting moſt of diſſolute Sword-men and Suburb Royſters, hardly amounted to making up of one ragged Regiment, ſtrong enough to aſſault the unarmed Houſe of Commons. After which Attempt ſeconded by a tedious and bloody War on his Subjects, wherein he hath ſo far exceeded thoſe his Arbitrary Violences in time of Peace, they who before hated him for his high Miſgovernment, nay, fought againſt him with diſplay'd Banners in the Field, now applaud him and extol him for the Wiſeſt and moſt Religious Prince that liv'd. By ſo ſtrange a Method amongſt the mad Multitude is a ſudden Reputation won, of Wiſdom by wilfullneſs and

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ſubtle ſhifts, of goodneſs by multiplying Evil, of Piety by endeavouring to root out true Religion.

But it is evident that the chief of his adherents never lov'd him, never honour'd either him or his Cauſe, but as they took him to ſet a face upon their own malignant Deſigns, nor bemoan his loſs at all, but the loſs of their own aſpiring hopes: Like thoſe Captive Women whom the Poet Notes in his Iliad, *to have bewail'd the Death of* Patroclus *in outward ſhow, but indeed their own Condition.*

Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κῆδε ἑκάστη.
Hom. Iliad. τ.

And it needs muſt be ridiculous to any Judgment uninthrall'd, that they who in other Matters expreſs ſo little Fear either of God or Man, ſhould in this one particular outſtrip all Preciſianiſm with their Scruples and Caſes, and fill Mens Ears continually with the noiſe of their Conſcientious Loyalty and Allegiance to the King, Rebels in the mean while to God in all their Actions beſide: much leſs that they whoſe profeſs'd Loyalty and Allegiance led them to direct Arms againſt the Kings Perſon, and thought him nothing violated by the Sword of Hoſtility drawn by them againſt him, ſhould now in earneſt think him

him violated by the unſparing Sword of Juſtice, which undoubtedly ſo much the leſs in vein ſhe bears among Men, by how much greater and in higheſt place the Offender. Elſe Juſtice, whether Moral or Political, were not Juſtice, but a falſe Counterfeit of that Impartial and Godlike Vertue. The only grief is, that the Head was not ſtrook off to the beſt Advantage and Commodity of them that held it by the Hair: Which Obſervation, though made by a Common Enemy, may for the truth of it hereafter become a Proverb. But as to the Author of theſe Soliloquies, whether it were the late King, as is Vulgarly believ'd, or any ſecret Coadjutor, *and ſome ſtick not to name him, it can add nothing, nor ſhall take from the weight, if any be, of Reaſon which he brings. But Allegations, not Reaſons are the main Contents of this Book; and need no more then other contrary Allegations to lay the queſtion before all Men in an even Ballance; though it were ſuppos'd that the Teſtimony of one Man in his own Cauſe affirming could be of any moment to bring in doubt the Authority of a Parliament denying. But if theſe his fair ſpoken Words ſhall be here fairly confronted and laid parallel to his own far differing Deeds, manifeſt and viſible to the whole Nation, then ſurely we may look on them who notwithſtanding ſhall perſiſt to give to bare Words more Credit*

then

then to open Deeds, as Men whose Judgment was not rationally evinc'd and perswaded, but fatally stupify'd and betwitch'd, into such a Blind and Obstinate Belief. For whose Cure may be doubted, not whether any Charm, though never so wisely Murmur'd, but whether any Prayer can be available.

I. *Upon*

ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

Upon the Kings calling this laſt Parliament.

THAT which the King lays down here as his firſt Foundation, and as it were the Head ſtone of his whole Structure, that *he called this laſt Parliament not more by others advice and the neceſſity of his Affaires, then by his own choiſe and inclination*, is to all knowing men ſo apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inauſpicious ſentence, and more betok'ning the downfal of his whole Fabric, hardly could have come into his mind. For who knows not that the inclination of a Prince is beſt known either by thoſe next about him, and moſt in Favour with him, or by the current of his own Actions. Thoſe neareſt to this King and moſt his Favorites, were Courtiers and Prelates; Men whoſe Chief Study was to find out which way the King Inclin'd, and to imitate him exactly. How theſe Men ſtood affected to Parliaments, cannot be forgotten. No Man but may remember it was their continual exerciſe to diſpute and Preach againſt them; and in their common diſcourſe nothing was more frequent, then that *they hoped the King ſhould now have no need of Parliaments any more.* And this was but the Copy which his Paraſites had induſtriouſly taken from his own Words and Actions, who never call'd a Parliament but to ſupply his neceſſities; and having ſupply'd thoſe, as ſuddenly and ignominiouſly diſſolv'd it, without redreſſing any one greivance of the People. Sometimes chooſing rather to miſs of his Subſidies, or to

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raiſe them by illegal courſes, then that the People ſhould not ſtill miſs of their hopes, to be reliev'd by Parliaments.

The firſt he broke off at his coming to the Crown; for no other cauſe then to protect the Duke of *Buckingham* againſt them who had accus'd him, beſides other hainous Crimes, of no leſs then Poyſoning the Deceaſed King his Father. And ſtill the latter breaking was with more Affront and Indignity put upon the Houſe and her worthieſt Members, then the former. Inſomuch that in the fifth Year of his Reign, in a Proclamation he ſeems offended at the very rumor of a Parliament divulg'd among the People: As if he had tak'n it for a kind of ſlander, that Men ſhould think him that way exorable, much leſs inclin'd: And forbids it as a preſumption to preſcribe him any time for Parliaments; that is to ſay, either by Perſwaſion or Petition, or ſo much as the reporting of ſuch a rumor; for other manner of preſcribing was at that time not ſuſpected. By which ſecret Edict, the People, forbidden to complain, as well as forc'd to ſuffer, began from thenceforth to deſpair of Parliaments. Whereupon ſuch illegal Actions, and eſpecially to get vaſt Sums of Money, were put in Practice by the King and his new Officers, as Monopolies, compulſive Knighthoods, Cote, Conduct and Ship-money, the ſeizing not of one *Naboths* Vineyard, but of whole Inheritances under the pretence of Forreſt, or Crown-Lands, Corruption and Bribery compounded for, with impunities granted for the future, as gave evident proof that the King never meant, nor could it ſtand with the reaſon of his Affairs, ever to recal Parliaments; having brought by theſe irregular courſes the Peoples intereſt, and his

his own to so direct an opposition, that he might forsee plainly, if nothing but a Parliament could save the People, it must necessarily be his undoing.

Till eight or nine years after, proceeding with a high hand in these enormities, and having the second time levied an injurious War against his Native Country *Scotland*, and finding all those other shifts of raising Money, which bore out his first expedition, now to fail him, not *of his own choise and inclination*, as any Child may see, but urg'd by strong necessities, and the very pangs of State which his own violent proceedings had brought him to, he calls a Parliament; first in *Ireland*, which only was to give him four Subsidies, and so to expire; then in *England*, where his first demand was but twelve Subsidies, to maintain a *Scotch* War, condemn'd and abominated by the whole Kingdom; promising their grievances should be consider'd afterwards. Which when the Parliament, who judg'd that War it self one of their main grievances, made no hast to grant, not enduring the delay of his impatient Will, or else fearing the conditions of their Grant, he breaks off the whole Session, and dismisses them and their grievances with scorn and frustration.

Much less therefore did he call this last Parliament by his own Choise and Inclination; but having first try'd in vain all undue ways to procure Money, his Army of their own accord being beat'n in the *North*, the Lords Petitioning, and the General voice of the People, almost hissing him and his ill-acted regality off the Stage, compell'd at length both by his wants, and by his fears, upon meer extremity he Summon'd this last Parliament.

And how it is possible that he should willingly incline to Parliaments, who never was perceiv'd to call them but for the greedy hope of a whole National Bribe, his Subsidies, and never lov'd, never fulfill'd, never promoted the true end of Parliaments, the redress of grievances, but still put them off, and Prolong'd them, whether gratify'd or not gratify'd; and was indeed the Author of all those grievances. To say therefore that he call'd this Parliament of his own Choise and Inclination, Argues how little Truth we can expect from the Sequel of this Book, which ventures in the very first Period, to affront more then one Nation with an untruth so remarkable; and presumes a more implicit Faith in the People of *England*, then the *Pope* ever commanded from the *Romish Laity*; Or else a natural sottishness fit to be abus'd and ridd'n. While in the judgement of Wise Men, by laying the Foundation of his Defence on the avouchment of that which is so manifestly untrue, he hath giv'n a worse Foil to his own Cause, then when his whole Forces were at any time overthrown. They therefore who think such great Service done to the Kings Affairs in Publishing this Book, will find themselves in the end mistak'n: If sense and right mind, or but any Mediocrity of knowledge and remembrance, hath not quite forsak'n Men.

But to prove his Inclination to Parliaments, he affirms here *To have always thought the right way of them, most safe for his Crown, and best pleasing to his People.* What he thought we know not; but that he ever took the contrary way we saw; and from his own Actions we felt long ago what he thought of Parliaments or of pleasing his People: a surer evidence then what we hear now too late in words.

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He alledges, that *the cauſe of forbearing to convene Parliaments was the ſparks which ſome Mens diſtempers there ſtudied to kindle.* They were indeed not temper'd to his temper; for it neither was the Law, nor the Rule by which all other Tempers were to be try'd; but they were eſteem'd and choſen for the fitteſt Men in their ſeveral Countries, to allay and quench thoſe Diſtempers which his own inordinate doings had inflam'd. And if that were his refuſing to *convene*, till thoſe Men had been qualifi'd to his Temper, that is to ſay, his will, we may eaſily conjecture what hope there was of Parliaments, had not fear and his inſatiat poverty in the midſt of his exceſſive wealth conſtrain'd him.

He hoped by his freedom, and their moderation to prevent miſunderſtandings. And wherefore not by their Freedom and his moderation? But Freedom he thought too high a word for them; and moderation too mean a word for himſelf: this was not the way to prevent miſunderſtandings. He ſtill *feared Paſſion and Prejudice in other Men*; not in himſelf: *and doubted not by the weight of his* own *reaſon, to counterpoiſe any Faction*; it being ſo eaſie for him, and ſo frequent, to call his obſtinacy reaſon, and other mens reaſon, Faction. We in the mean while muſt believe, that Wiſdom and all Reaſon came to him, by Title, with his Crown; paſſion, prejudice and Faction, came to others by being Subjects.

He *was ſorry to hear with what popular heat Elections were carry'd in many places.* Sorry rather that Court-Letters, and Intimations prevail'd no more, to divert, or to deter the People from their free Election of thoſe Men, whom they thought beſt affected to Religion, and their Countries Liberty,

both at that time in danger to be loſt. And ſuch Men they were as by the Kingdom were ſent to adviſe him, not ſent to be caviſſ'd at, becauſe E-lected, or to be entertained by him with an Under-value and Miſpriſion of their Temper, Judgement or Affection. In vain was a Parliament thought fit-teſt by the known Laws of our Nation, to adviſe and regulate unruly Kings, if they, inſtead of hearkning to advice, ſhould be permitted to turn it off, and refuſe it by vilifying and traducing their Adviſers, or by accuſing of a popular heat thoſe that lawfully Elected them.

His own and his Childrens intereſt oblig'd him to ſeek and to preſerve the love and welfare of his Subjects. Who doubts it? But the ſame intereſt, common to all Kings, was never yet available to make them all ſeek that, which was indeed beſt for themſelves and their Poſterity. All men by their own and their Childrens intereſt are oblig'd to Honeſty and Juſtice; but how little that conſideration works in private Men, how much leſs in Kings, their deeds declare beſt.

He intended to oblige both Friends and Enemies, and to exceed their deſires, did they but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſence; miſtaking the whole buſineſs of a Parliament, which met not to receive from him Obligations, but Juſtice; nor he to expect from them their Modeſty, but their grave Advice, utter'd with Freedom in the publice Cauſe. His talk of modeſty in their deſires of the common welfare, argues him not much to have underſtood what he had to grant, who miſconceiv'd ſo much the nature of what they had to deſire. And for *ſober ſenſe* the expreſſion was too mean; and re-coiles with as much diſhonour upon himſelf, to be a King where ſober ſenſe could poſſibly be ſo wanting in a Parliament.

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The odium and offences which ſome Mens rigour, or remiſſneſs in Church and State had contracted upon his Government, he reſolved to have expiated with better Laws and Regulations, And yet the worſt of Miſdemeanors committed by the worſt of all his Favourites, in the height of their Dominion, whether Acts of rigor or remiſſneſs, he hath from time to time contínu'd, own'd, and tak'n upon himſelf by public Declarations, as oft'n as the Clergy, or any other of his Inſtruments felt themſelves overburden'd with the Peoples hatred. And who knows not the Superſtitious rigor of his Sundays Chappel, and the licentious remiſſneſs of his Sundays Theater; accompanied with that reverend Statute for *Dominical* Jigs and May-poles, Publiſht in his own Name, and deriv'd from the example of his Father *James*. Which teſtifies all that rigor in Superſtition, all that remiſſneſs in Religion to have iſſu'd out Originally from his own Houſe, and from his own Authority. Much rather then may thoſe General miſcarriages in State, his proper Sphear, be imputed to no other Perſon chiefly then to himſelf. And which of all thoſe oppreſſive Acts, or Impoſitions did he ever diſclaim or diſavow, till the fatal awe of this Parliament hung ominouſly over him. Yet hear he ſmoothly ſeeks to wipe off all the envy of his evil Government upon his Subſtitutes, and under Officers: And promiſes, though much too late, what wonders he purpos'd to have done in the reforming of Religion; a work wherein all his undertakings heretofore declare him to have had little or no judgment. Neither could his Breeding, or his courſe of life acquaint him with a thing ſo Spiritual. Which may well aſſure us what kind of Reformation we could expect from him; either ſome Politic Form of an impos'd

Religion, or elſe perpetual Vexation, and Perſecution to all thoſe that comply'd not with ſuch a Form. The like amendment he promiſes in State; not a ſtep further *then his Reaſon and Conſcience told him was fit to be deſired*; wiſhing *he had kept within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffer'd his own judgement to have been over-born in ſome things*, of which things one was the Earl of *Straſfords* Execution. And what ſignifies all this, but that ſtill his reſolution was the ſame, to ſet up an Arbitrary Government of his own; and that all *Britain* was to be ty'd and chain'd to the conſcience, judgment and reaſon, of one Man; as if thoſe Gifts had been only his Peculiar and Prerogative, intail'd upon him with his Fortune to be a King. When as doubtleſs no Man ſo obſtinate, or ſo much a Tyrant, but profeſſes to be guided by that which he calls his Reaſon, and his Judgement, though never ſo corrupted; and pretends alſo his Conſcience. In the mean while, for any Parliament or the whole Nation to have either reaſon, judgement, or conſcience, by this rule was altogether in vain, if it thwarted the Kings Will, which was eaſie for him to call by any other more plauſible name. And thus we find theſe fair and ſpecious promiſes, made upon the experience of many hard ſufferings, and his moſt mortifi'd retirements, being throughly ſifted, to contain nothing in them much different from his former Practices, ſo croſs, and ſo averſe to all his Parliaments, and both the Nations of this Iſland. What Fruits they could in likelyhood have produc'd in his reſtorement, is obvious to any prudent foreſight.

And this is the ſubſtance of his firſt Section, till we come to the devout of it, model'd into the form

form of a private Pſalter. Which they who ſo much admire either for the matter or the manner, may as well admire the Arch-Biſhops late Breviary, and many other as good *Manuals*, and *Handmaids of Devotion*, the lip-work of every Prelatical Liturgiſt, clapt together, and quilted out of Scripture Phraſe, with as much eaſe, and as little need of Chriſtian Diligence, or Judgment, as belongs to the compiling of any ordinary and ſaleable peice of Engliſh Divinity, that the Shops value. But he who from ſuch a kind of Pſalmiſtry, or any other verbal Devotion, without the pledge and earneſt of ſuitable Deeds, can be perſwaded of a Zeal, and true Righteouſneſs in the Perſon, hath much yet to learn; and knows not that the deepeſt Policy of a Tyrant hath been ever to counterfeit Religious. And *Ariſtotle* in his Politics, hath mentioned that ſpecial Craft among twelve other Tyrannical *Sophiſms*: Neither want we Examples. *Andronicus Comnenus* the *Byzantine* Emperor, though a moſt Cruel Tyrant, is reported by *Nicetas* to have been a conſtant Reader of St *Paul*'s Epiſtles; and by continual Study had ſo incorporate the Phraſe and Stile of that tranſcendent Apoſtle into all his familiar Letters, that the Imitation ſeem'd to vie with the Original. Yet this avail'd not to deceive the People of that Empire; who notwithſtanding his Saints Vizard, tore him to pieces for his Tyranny. From Stories of this nature both Ancient and Modern which abound, the Poets alſo, and ſome Engliſh, have been in this Point ſo mindful of *Decorum*, as to put never more pious Words in the Mouth of any Perſon, then of a Tyrant. I ſhall not inſtance an abſtruſe Author, wherein the King might be leſs converſant, but one whom we well know was the Cloſet Compa-

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nion of these his Solitudes, *William Shakespeare*; who introduces the Person of *Richard* the Third, speaking in as high a strain of Piety, and mortification, as is uttered in any passage of this Book; and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this Place, *I intended*, saith he, *not only to oblige my Friends, but mine Enemies.* The like saith *Richard*, *Act.* 2. *Scen.* 1.

I do not know that English Man alive,
With whom my Soul is any jot at odds,
More then the Infant that is born to night;
I thank my God for my Humility.

Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the whole Tragedy, wherein the Poet us'd not much License in departing from the Truth of History, which delivers him a deep Dissembler, not of his affections only, but of Religion.

In Praying therefore, and in the outward Work of Devotion, this King we see hath not at all exceeded the worst of Kings before him. But herein the worst of Kings, professing Christianism, have by far exceeded him. They, for ought we know, have still pray'd their own, or at least borrow'd from fit Authors. But this King, not content with that which, although in a thing holy, is no holy Theft, to attribute to his own making other Mens whole Prayers, hath as it were Unhallow'd, and Unchristen'd the very Duty of Prayer it self, by borrowing to a Christian use Prayers offer'd to a Heathen God. Who would have imagin'd so little fear in him of the true all-seeing Deity, so little Reverence of the Holy Ghost, whose Office is to dictate and present our Christian Prayers, so little care of Truth in his last Words,

of

or Honour to himſelf, or to his Friends, or Senſe of his Afflictions, or of that ſad hour which was upon him, as immediately before his Death to pop into the hand of that Grave Biſhop who attended him, as a ſpecial Relic of his Saintly Exerciſes, a Prayer ſtol'n Word for Word from the Mouth of a Heathen Woman Praying to a Heathen God; and that in no ſerious Book, but in the vain Amatorious Poem of Sr. *Philip Sidneys Arcadia*; a Book in that kind full of Worth and Wit, but among Religious Thoughts, and Duties not worthy to be nam'd; nor to be read at any time without good Caution; much leſs in time of Trouble and Affliction to be a Chriſtians Prayer-Book. It hardly can be thought upon without ſome laughter, that he who had acted over us ſo Stately and ſo Tragically, ſhould leave the World at laſt with ſuch a ridiculous Exit, as to bequeath among his deifying Friends that ſtood about him, ſuch a piece of mockery to be publiſht by them, as muſt needs cover both his and their heads with ſhame and confuſion. And ſure it was the hand of God that let them fall and be tak'n in ſuch a fooliſh Trap, as hath expos'd them to all Deriſion, if for nothing elſe, to throw Contempt and Diſgrace in the ſight of all Men upon this his Idoliz'd Book, and the whole Roſary of his Prayers; thereby teſtifying how little he accepted them from thoſe who thought no better of the living God, then of a Buzzard Idol, that would be ſerv'd and worſhipt with the polluted Traſh of Romances and *Arcadias*, without diſcerning the Affront ſo irreligiouſly and ſo boldly offer'd him to his Face.

Thus much be ſaid in general to his Prayers; and in ſpecial to that *Arcadian* Prayer us'd in his Captivity; enough to undeceive us what Eſteem we are to ſet upon the reſt. And

And thus far in the whole Chapter we have seen and consider'd, and it cannot but be clear to all Men, how, and for what ends, what Concernments, and Necessities the late King was no way induc'd, but every way constrain'd to call this last Parliament; yet here in his first Prayer he Trembles not to avouch as in the Ears of God, *That he did it with an upright Intention, to his Glory, and his Peoples Good:* Of which dreadful Attestation how sincerely meant, God, to whom it was avow'd, can only judge; and he hath judg'd already; and hath written his Impartial Sentence in Characters legible to all Christ'ndom; and besides hath taught us, that there be some, whom he hath giv'n over to Delusion; whose very Mind and Conscience is defil'd; of whom Saint *Paul* to *Titus* makes mention.

II. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *Death.*

THIS next Chapter is a Penitent Confession of the King, and the strangest, if it be well weigh'd, that ever was Auricular. For he repents here of giving his Consent, though most unwillingly, to the most seasonable and solemn peice of Justice, that had been done of many Years in the Land: But his sole Conscience thought the contrary. And thus was the Welfare, the Safety, and within a little, the unanimous Demand of Three populous Nations to have attended still on the singularity of one Mans opinionated Conscience; if Men had always been so Tame and Spiritless; and had not unexpectedly found the Grace to understand, that if his Conscience were so narrow and peculiar to it self, it was not fit his Authority should be so ample and universal over others.

For

For certainly a private Conſcience ſorts not with a public Calling; but declares that Perſon rather meant by Nature for a private Fortune. And this alſo we may take for Truth, that he whoſe Conſcience thinks it ſin to put to Death a Capital Offendor, will as oft think it meritorious to kill a Righteous Perſon. But let us hear what the ſin was that lay ſo ſore upon him, and, as his Prayer giv'n to Dr. *Juxton* teſtifies, to the very day of his Death; it was his ſigning the Bill of *Straffords* Execution: a Man whom all Men look'd upon as one of the boldeſt and moſt impetuous Inſtruments that the King had to advance any violent or illegal Deſign. He had Rul'd *Ireland*, and ſome Parts of *England* in an Arbitrary Manner, had endeavour'd to ſubvert Fundamental Laws, to ſubvert Parliaments, and to incenſe the King againſt them; he had alſo endeavour'd to make Hoſtility between *England* and *Scotland*: He had Counſel'd the King to call over that *Iriſh* Army of Papiſts, which he had cunningly rais'd, to reduce *England*, as appear'd by good Teſtimony then preſent at the Conſultation. For which, and many other Crimes alledg'd and prov'd againſt him in 28. Articles, he was Condemn'd of high Treaſon by the Parliament. The Commons by far the greater number caſt him; the Lords, after they had been ſatisfi'd in a full Diſcourſe by the Kings Sollicitor, and the Opinions of many Judges deliver'd in this Houſe, agreed likewiſe to the Sentence of Treaſon. The People Univerſally cry'd out for Juſtice. None were his Friends but Courtiers, and Clergymen, the worſt at that time, and moſt corrupted ſort of Men; and Court Ladies, not the beſt of Women; who when they grow to that inſolence as to appear active in State Affairs, are the certain ſign of a diſſolute, degenerate,

degenerate, and pusillanimous Common-wealth. Last of all the King; or rather first, for these were but his Apes, was not satisfy'd in Conscience to Condemn him of High Treason; and declar'd to both Houses, *That no Fears or Respects whatsoever should make him alter that Resolution founded upon his Conscience.* Either then his Resolution was indeed not founded upon his Conscience, or his Conscience receiv'd better Information, or else both his Conscience and this his strong Resolution stroke Sail, notwithstanding these glorious Words, to his stronger Fear. For within a few days after, when the Judges at a Privy Council, and four of his Elected Bishops had pick'd the Thorn out of his Conscience, he was at length perswaded to Sign the Bill for *Strafford's* Execution. And yet perhaps that it urung his Conscience to Condemn the *Earl* of High Treason is not unlikely: not because he thought him guiltless of highest Treason, had half those Crimes been Committed against his own Private Interest or Person, as appear'd plainly by his charge against the six Members, but because he knew himself a Principal in what the *Earl* was but his Accessory, and thought nothing Treason against the Common-wealth, but against himself only.

Had he really scrupl'd to Sentence that for Treason which he thought not Treasonable, why did he seem resolv'd by the Judges and the Bishops? And if by them resolv'd, how comes the scruple here again? It was not then, as he now pretends, *The Importunities of some, and the Fear of many* which made him sign, but the Satisfaction giv'n him by those Judges and Ghostly Fathers of his own choosing. Which of him shall we believe? For he seems not one, but double; either here we must not believe him professing that his Satisfaction was

but

but ſeemingly receiv'd, and out of fear, or elſe we may as well believe that the ſcruple was no real ſcruple, as we can believe him here againſt himſelf before, that the Satisfaction then receiv'd was no real Satisfaction: of ſuch a variable and fleeting Conſcience what hold can be tak'n? But that indeed it was a facil Conſcience, and could diſſemble Satisfaction when it pleas'd, his own enſuing Actions declar'd: being ſoon after found to have the chief hand in a moſt deteſted Conſpiracy againſt the Parliament and Kingdom, as by Letters and Examinations of *Percy*, *Goring*, and other Conſpirators came to Light; that his intention was to reſcue the Earl of *Strafford*, by ſeizing on the Tower of *London*; to bring up the *Engliſh* Army out of the *North*, joyn'd with Eight Thouſand *Iriſh* Papiſts rais'd by *Strafford*, and a *French* Army to be Landed at *Portſmouth* againſt the Parliament and their Friends. For which purpoſe the King, though requeſted by both Houſes to diſband thoſe *Iriſh* Papiſts, refus'd to do it, and kept them ſtill in Arms to his own purpoſes. No marvel then, if being as deeply Criminous as the Earl himſelf, it ſtung his Conſcience to adjudge to Death thoſe Miſdeeds whereof himſelf had been the chief Author: no marvel though inſtead of blaming and deteſting his Ambition, his Evil Council, his Violence and Oppreſſion of the People, he fell to praiſe his great *Abilities*; and with Scholaſtic Flouriſhes beneath the Decency of a King, compares him to the *Sun*, which in all figurative uſe, and ſignificance bears alluſion to a King, not to a Subject: No marvel though he knit Contradictions as cloſe as words can lye together, *not approving in his Judgment*, and yet approving in his ſubſequent Reaſon all that *Strafford* did, as *driven by the neceſſity of*

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Times, and the Temper of that People; for this excuſes all his Miſdemeanors: Laſtly, no marvel that he goes on building many fair and pious Concluſions upon falſe and wicked Premiſes, which deceive the Common Reader not well diſcerning the Antipathy of ſuch Connexions: but this is the Marvel, and may be the aſtoniſhment of all that have a Conſcience, how he durſt in the ſight of God (and with the ſame words of Contrition wherewith *David* Repents the Murdering of *Uriah*) repent his lawful Compliance to that juſt act of not ſaving him, whom he ought to have deliver'd up to ſpeedy puniſhment; though himſelf the guiltier of the two. If the deed were ſo ſinful to have put to Death ſo great a Malefactor, it would have tak'n much doubtleſs from the heavineſs of his ſin, to have told God in his Confeſſion, how he labour'd, what dark Plots he had contriv'd, into what a League enter'd, and with what Conſpirators againſt his Parliament and Kingdoms, to have reſcu'd from the claim of Juſtice ſo notable and ſo dear an Inſtrument of Tyranny, Which would have been a ſtory, no doubt as pleaſing in the Ears of Heav'n, as all theſe equivocal Repentances. For it was fear, and nothing elſe which made him fain before both the ſcruple and the ſatisfaction of his Conſcience, that is to ſay, of his mind: his firſt fear pretended Conſcience that he might be born with to refuſe ſigning; his latter fear being more urgent made him find a Conſcience both to ſign and to be ſatisfy'd. As for Repentance it came not on him till a long time after; when he ſaw *he could have ſuffer'd nothing more, though he had deny'd that Bill.* For how could he underſtandingly repent of letting that be Treaſon which the Parliament and whole Nation ſo judg'd? This was that which repented

pented him, to have giv'n up to juſt puniſhment ſo ſtout a Champion of his Deſigns, who might have been ſo uſeful to him in his following Civil Broils. It was a worldly Repentance not a Conſcientious; or elſe it was a ſtrange Tyranny which his Conſcience had got over him, to vex him like an Evil Spirit for doing one act of Juſtice, and by that means to *fortifie his Reſolution* from ever doing ſo any more. That mind muſt needs be irrecoverably deptav'd, which either by chance or importunity taſting but once of one juſt Deed, ſpatters at it, and abhors the Reliſh ever after. To the Scribes and Phariſees, woe was denounc'd by our Saviour, for ſtraining at a *Gnat*, and ſwallowing a *Camel*; though a *Gnat* were to be ſtrain'd at: But to a Conſcience with whom one good Deed is ſo hard to paſs down, as to endanger almoſt a choaking, and bad Deeds without number though as big and as bulky as the Ruine of Three Kingdoms, go down currently without ſtraining, certainly a far greater Woe appertains. If his Conſcience were come to that unnatural *dyſcraſie*, as to digeſt Poyſon and to keck at wholeſom Food, it was not for the Parliament, or any of this Kingdoms to feed with him any longer. Which to conceal he would perſwade us that the Parliament alſo in their Conſcience eſcap'd not *ſome touches of remorſe* for putting *Strafford* to Death, in forbidding it by an *after act* to be a precedent for the future. But in a fairer Conſtruction, that Act imply'd rather a deſire in them to pacifie the Kings Mind, whom they perceiv'd by this means quite alienated: in the mean while not foraging that this after Act ſhould be retorted on them to tye up Juſtice for the time to come upon like occaſion, whether this were made a precedent or not, no more then the want

of such a precedent, if it had been wanting, had been available to hinder this.

But how likely is it that this after Act argu'd in the Parliament their least repenting for the Death of *Strafford*, when it argu'd so little in the King himself: who notwithstanding this after Act which had his own Hand and Coucurrence, if not his own Instigation, within the same Year accus'd of High-Treason no less then six Members at once for the same pretended Crimes which his Conscience would not yield to think Treasonable in the Earl. So that this his subtle Argument to fast'n a Repenting, and by that means a guiltiness of *Strafford's* Death upon the Parliament, concludes upon his own Head; and shews us plainly that either nothing in his Judgment was Treason against the Common-wealth, but only against the Kings Person, a Tyrannical Principle, or that his Conscience was a perverse and prevaricating Conscience, to scruple that the Common-wealth should punish for Treasonous in one Eminent Offender, that which he himself sought so vehemently to have punisht in six guiltless Persons. If this were *that touch of Conscience which he bore with greater Regret*, then for any other Sin Committed in his Life, whether it were that proditory Aid sent to *Rochel* and Religion abroad, or that Prodigality of shedding Blood at home, to a million of his Subjects Lives not valu'd in Comparison of one *Strafford*, we may consider yet at last what true Sense and feeling could be in that Conscience, and what fitness to be the Master Conscience of Three Kingdoms.

But the Reason why he Labours that we should take notice of so much *Tenderness and Regret in his Soul* for *having any hand in* Straffords Death, is worth the marking ere we conclude. *He hop'd it would be*

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ome Evidence before God and Man to all posterity hat he was far from bearing that vast load and guilt of Blood laid upon him by others. Which hath the likeneſs of a ſubtle diſſimulation; bewailing the Blood of one Man, his Commodious Inſtrument, but to Death moſt juſtly, though by him unwillingly, that we might think him too tender to ſhed willingly the Blood of thoſe Thouſands, whom he counted Rebels. And thus by dipping voluntarily his Fingers ends, yet with ſhew of great remorſe in the Blood of *Strafford*, whereof all Men clear him, he thinks to ſcape that Sea of innocent Blood wherein his own guilt inevitably hath plung'd him all over. And we may well perceive to what eaſie Satisfactions and Purgations he had inurg'd his Secret Conſcience, who thinks, by ſuch weak Policies and Oſtentations as theſe, to gain Belief and Abſolution from Underſtanding Men.

III. *Upon his going to the Houſe of Commons.*

CONCERNING his unexcuſable, and hoſtile march from the Court to the Houſe of Commons, there needs not much be ſaid. For he confeſſes it to be an act which moſt Men, whom he calls *his Enemies* cry'd ſhame upon; *indifferent Men grew jealous of and fearful, and many of his Friends reſented as a Motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon*: He himſelf, in one of his Anſwers to both Houſes, made profeſſion to be convinc'd that it was a plain breach of their Priviledge: Yet here like a rott'n Building newly Trimm'd over he repreſents it ſpeciouſly and fraudulently to impoſe upon the ſimple Reader; and ſeeks by ſmooth and ſupple Words not here only, but through his whole

Book, to make some beneficial Use or other ev'n of his Worst Miscarriages.

These Men, saith he, meaning his Friends, *knew not the just motives and pregnant Grounds with which I thought my self furnished*; to wit, against the five Members, whom he came to drag out of the House. His best Friends indeed knew not, nor could ever know his Motives to such a riotous Act: and had he himself known any just Grounds, he was not Ignorant how much it might have tended to his justifying, had he nam'd them in this place, and not conceal'd them. But suppose them real, suppose them known, what was this to that violation and dishonour put upon the whole House, whose very doors forcibly kept op'n, and all the Passages near it he beset with Swords and Pistols cock't and menac'd in the Hands of about Three Hundred Swaggerers and Ruffians, who but expected, nay audibly call'd for the Word of Onset to begin a Slaughter.

He had discover'd as he thought unlawful Correspondencies which they had us'd and Engagements to imbroil his Kingdoms, and remembers not his own unlawful Correspondencies and Conspiracies with the *Irish* Army of Papists, with the *French* to Land at *Portsmouth*, and his tampring both with the *English* and the *Scotch* Army, to come up against the Parliament: the least of which Attempts by whomsoever, was no less then manifest Treason against the Common-wealth.

If to demand Justice on the five Members were his Plea, for that which they with more Reason might have demanded Justice upon him (I use his own Argument) *there needed not so rough Assistance*. If he had *resolv'd to bear that Repulse with Patience*, which his Queen by her Words to him at his re-

turn

him little thought he would have done, wherefore did he provide againſt it, with ſuch an armed and unuſual force? But his Heart ſerv'd him not to undergo the hazard that ſuch a deſperate ſcuffle would have brought him to. But wherefore did he go at all, it behoving him to know there were two Statutes that declar'd he ought firſt to have acquainted the Parliament, who were the Accuſers, which he refus'd to do, though ſtill profeſſing to govern by Law, and ſtill juſtifying his Attempts againſt Law: And when he ſaw it was not permitted him to attaint them but by a fair Tryal, as was offered him from time to time, for want of juſt Matter which yet never came to Light, he let the buſineſs fall of his own accord; and all thoſe *Pregnancies*, and *juſt Motives* came to juſt nothing.

He had no Temptation of Diſpleaſure or Revenge againſt thoſe Men: None, but what he thirſted to execute upon them, for the conſtant Oppoſition which they made againſt his Tyranous Proceedings, and the Love and Reputation which they therefore had among the People.

He miſt but little to have produc'd Writings under ſome Mens own Hands. But yet he miſt, tho their Chambers, Trunks, and Studies were ſeal'd up and ſearch'd; yet not found Guilty. *Providence would not have it ſo.* Good Providence, that Curbs the Raging of Proud Monarchs, as well as of Mad Multitudes. *Yet he manied not ſuch probabilities* (for his pregnant is come now to probable) *as were ſufficient to raiſe Jealouſies in any Kings Heart.* And thus his pregnant *Motives* are at laſt prov'd nothing but a Tympany, or a Queen *Maries* Cuſhion: For in any Kings Heart, as Kings go now, what ſhadowy Conceit, or groundleſs toy will not create a Jealouſie?

That he had design'd to assault the House of Commons, taking God to witness, he utterly denies; yet in his Answer to the City, maintains that *any course of violence had been very justifiable*. And we may then guess how far it was from his design. However it discover'd in him an excessive eagerness to be aveng'd on them that cross'd him; and that to have his will, he stood not to do things never so much below him. What a becoming sight it was to see the King of *England* one while in the House of Commons, by and by in the *Guild-Hall* among the Liveries and Manufactures, Prosecuting so greedily the track of five or six fled Subjects; himself not the Sollicitor only but the Pursivant, and the Apparitor of his own partial Cause. And although, in his Answers to the Parliament, he hath confess'd, first that his manner of Prosecution was illegal, next, *that as he once conceiv'd he had ground enough to accuse them; so at length that he found as good cause to desert any Prosecution of them*, yet here he seems to reverse all, and against promise takes up his old deserted accusation, that he might have something to excuse himself, instead of giving due reparation; which he always refus'd to give them, whom he had so dishonor'd.

That I went, saith he, of his going to the House of Commons, *attended with some Gentlemen*; Gentlemen indeed; the ragged Infantry of Stews and Brothels; the spawn and shiprack of Taverns and Dicing Houses: and then he pleads *it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and Safety of a King to be so attended, especially in discontented times*. An illustrious Majesty no doubt, so attended: a becoming safety for the King of *England*, plac'd in the fidelity of such Guards and Champions: Happy times; when Bravos and Hacksters, the only

contento

contented Members of his Government, were thought the fitteſt and the faithfulleſt to defend his Perſon againſt the diſcontents of a Parliament and all good Men. Were thoſe the choſen ones to *preſerve reverence to him*, while he enterd *unaſſur'd*, and full of ſuſpitions into his great and faithful Counſel? Let God then and the World judge whether the cauſe were not in his own guilty and unwarrantable doings: The Houſe of Commons upon ſeveral Examinations of this buſineſs declar'd it ſufficiently prov'd that the comming of thoſe Soldiers, Papiſts, and others with the King was to take away ſome of their Members, and in caſe of oppoſition or denyal, to have fal'n upon the Houſe in a hoſtile manner. This the King here denies; adding a fearful imprecation againſt his own Life, *If he purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent, then*, ſaith he, *let the Enemy Perſecute my Soul, and trea I my life to the ground and lay my honour in the duſt.* What need then more diſputing? He appeal'd to Gods Tribunal, and behold God hath judg'd, and done to him in the ſight of all Men according to the verdict of his own mouth. To be a warning to all Kings hereafter how they uſe preſumptuouſly the words and proteſtation of *David*, without the Spirit and Conſcience of *David*. And the Kings admirers may here ſee their madneſs to miſtake this Book for a monument of his worth and wiſdom, when as indeed it is his *Doomſday Book*; not like that of *William* the *Norman* his Predeceſſor, but the record and memorial of his condemnation: and diſcovers whatever hath befal'n him, to have been haſt'nd on from Divine Juſtice by the raſh and inconſiderat appeal of his own lips. But what evaſions, what pretences, though never ſo unjuſt and empty, will

he refuſe in matters more unknown, and more involv'd in the miſts and intricacies of State, who, rather then no juſtifie himſelf in a thing ſo generally odious, can flatter his integrity with ſuch frivolous excuſes againſt the manifeſt diſſent of all Men, whether Enemies, Neuters, or Friends. But God and his judgements have not been mock'd; and good Men may well percive what a diſtance there was ever like to be between him and his Parliament, and perhaps between him and all amendment, who for one good deed, though but conſented to, askes God forgiveneſs; and from his worſt deeds done, takes occaſion to inſiſt upon his righteouſneſs.

IV. *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

WE have here, I muſt confeſs, a neat and well-couch'd invective againſt Tumults; expreſſing a true fear of them in the Author, but yet ſo handſomly compos'd, and withal ſo feelingly, that, to make a Royal compariſon, I believe *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon* could not have compos'd it better. Yet *Rehoboam* had more cauſe to inveigh againſt them; for they had ſton'd his Tribute-gatherer, and perhaps had as little ſpar'd his own Perſon, had he not with all ſpeed betak'n him to his Charriot. But this King hath ſtood the worſt of them in his own Houſe without danger, when his Coach and Horſes, in a Panick fear, have been to ſeek, which argues that the Tumults at *White-Hall* were nothing ſo dangerous as thoſe at *Sechem*.

But the matter here conſiderable, is not whether the King, or his Houſhold *Rhetorician* have made a pithy declamation againſt Tumults, but firſt whether

whether theſe were Tumults or not, next if they were, whether the King himſelf did not cauſe them. Let us examin therefore how things at that time ſtood. The King, as before hath been prov'd, having both call'd this Parliament unwillingly, and as unwillingly from time to time condeſcended to their ſeveral Acts, carrying on a diſjoynt and private intereſt of his own, and not enduring to be ſo croſs'd and overſway'd, eſpecially in the Executing of his chief and boldeſt Inſtrument, the Deputy of *Ireland*, firſt tempts the *Engliſh* Army, with no leſs Reward then the ſpoil of *London*, to come up and deſtroy the Parliament. That being diſcover'd by ſome of the Officers, who, though bad enough, yet abhorr'd ſo foul a Deed, the King hard'nd in his purpoſe, turns him next to the *Scotch* Army; and baites his Temptation with a Richer reward; not only to have the Sacking of *London*, but four *Northern* Counties to be made *Scottiſh*; with Jewels of great value to be given in Pawn the while. But neither would the *Scots*, for any promiſe of reward, be brought to ſuch an execrable and odious Treachery; but with much Honeſty gave notice of the Kings Deſign, both to the Parliament and City of *London*. The Parliament moreover had intelligence, and the People could not but diſcern, that there was a bitter and Malignant Party grown up now to ſuch a boldneſs, as to give out inſolent and threatning Speeches againſt the Parliament it ſelf. Beſides this, the Rebellion in *Ireland* was now broke out; and a conſpiracy in *Scottland* had been made, while the King was there, againſt ſome chief Members of that Parliament; great Numbers here of unknown, and ſuſpicious Perſons reſorted to the City; the King being return'd from *Scotland* preſently diſmiſſes that

Guard

Guard which the Parliament thought neceſſary in the midſt of ſo many dangers to have about them; and puts another Guard in their place, contrary to the Priviledge of that high Court, and by ſuch a one commanded, as made them no leſs doubtful of the Guard it ſelf. Which they therefore, upon ſome ill effects thereof firſt found, diſcharge; deeming it more ſafe to ſit free, though without a Guard, in open danger, then inclos'd with a ſuſpected ſafety. The People therefore, leſt their worthieſt and moſt faithful Patriots, who had expos'd themſelves for the Public, and whom they ſaw now left naked, ſhould want Aid, or be deſerted in the midſt of theſe dangers, came in multitudes, though unarm'd, to witneſs their fidelity and readineſs in caſe of any violence offer'd to the Parliament. The King both envying to ſee the Peoples love thus devolv'd on another object, and doubting leſt it might utterly diſable him to do with Parliaments as he was wont, ſent a meſſage into the City forbidding ſuch reſorts. The Parliament alſo both by what was diſcover'd to them, and what they ſaw in a Maligpant Party (ſome of which had already drawn Blood in a Fray or two at the Court Gate, and even at their own Gate, in *Weſtminſter Hall*) concieving themſelves to be ſtill in danger where they ſate, ſent a moſt reaſonable and juſt Petition to the King that a Guard might be allow'd them out of the City, whereof the Kings own *Chamberlain*, the Earl of *Eſſex* might have command; it being the right of inferiour Courts to make choice of their own Guard. This the King refus'd to do, and why he refus'd, the very next day made manifeſt. For on that day it was, that he Sallied out from *Whitehall*, with thoſe truſty *Myrmidons*, to Block up, or give aſſault to the

the House of Commons. He had, besides all this, begun to fortifie his Court, and entertain'd Armed Men not a few; who standing at his Palace Gate, revil'd, and with drawn Swords wounded many of the People, as they went by unarm'd, and in a peaceable manner, whereof some dy'd. The passing by of a multitude, though neither to Saint *Georges* Feast, nor to a Tilting, certainly of it self was no Tumult; the expression of their Loyalty and Stedfastness to the Parliament, whose lives and safeties by more then slight rumours they doubted to be in danger; was no Tumult. If it grew to be so, the cause was in the King himself and his injurious retinue, who both by Hostile Preparations in the Court, and by actual assailing of the People, gave them just cause to defend themselves.

Surely those Unarmed and Petitioning People needed not have been so formidable to any, but to such whose consciences misgave them how ill they had deserv'd of the People; and first began to injure them, because they justly fear'd it from them; and then ascribe that to popular Tumult, which was occasion'd by their own provoking.

And that the King was so emphatical and elaborate on this Theme against Tumults and expres's'd with such a vehemence his hatred of them, will redound less perhaps, then he was aware, to the commendation of his Government. For besides that in good Governments they happ'n seldomest, and rise not without cause, if they prove extream, and pernicious, they were never counted so to Monarchy, but to Monarchical Tyranny; and extreams one with another are at most Antipathy. If then the King so extreamly stood in fear of Tumults, the inference will endanger him to be the other

other extream. Thus far the occasion of this discourse against Tumults; now to the discourse it self, voluble enough, and full of sentence, but that, for the most part, either specious rather then solid, or to his cause nothing pertinent.

He never thought any thing more to presage the mischiefs that ensu'd, then those Tumults. Then was his foresight but short, and much mistak'n. Those Tumults were but the mild effects of an evil and injurious Reign; not signs of mischiefs to come, but seeking relief for mischiefs past; those signs were to be read more apparent in his rage and purpos'd revenge of those free expostulations, and clamours of the People against his lawless Government. *Not any thing*, saith he, *portends more Gods displeasure against a Nation then when he suffers the clamours of the Vulgar to pass all bounds of Law and reverence to Authority.* It portends rather his displeasure against a Tyrannous King, whose proud Throne he intends to overturn by that contemptible Vulgar; the sad cries and oppressions of whom his Royalty regarded not. As for that supplicating People they did no hurt either to Law or Authority, but stood for it rather in the Parliament against whom they fear'd would violate it.

That they invaded the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, is his own officious accusation, not seconded by the Parliament, who had they seen cause, were themselves best able to complain. And if they *shook and menac'd* any, they were such as had more relation to the Court, then to the Common-wealth; Enemies, not Patrons of the People. But if their Petitioning unarmed were an Invasion of both Houses, what was his entrance into the House of Commons, besetting it with Armed Men, in what Condition then was the Honour, and Freedom of that House?

They

They forbore not rude deportments, contemptuous Words and Actions to himself and his Court.

It was more wonder, having heard what treacherous Hostility he had design'd against the City, and his whole Kingdom, that they forbore to handle him as People in their rage have handl'd Tyrants heretofore for less offences.

They were not a short Ague, but a fierce quotidian Feaver: He indeed may best say it, who most felt it; for the shaking was within him; and it shook him by his own Discription *worse then a Storm, worse then an Earthquake; Belshazzars* Palsie. Had not worse fears, terrors and envies made within him that commotion, how could a multitude of his Subjects, Arm'd with no other Weapon then Petitions, have shak'n all his Joynts with such a terrible Ague. Yet that the Parliament should entertain the least fear of bad Intentions from him, or his Party, he endures not; but would perswade us that *Men feare themselves and others without cause*; for he thought fear would be to them a kind of Armor, and his design was, if it were possible, to disarm all, especially of a wise fear and suspition; for that he knew would find Weapons.

He goes on therefore with vehemence to repeat the mischeifs done by these Tumults. *They first Petition'd, then Protested, dictate next, and lastly over all the Parliament. They remov'd obstructions, they Purg'd the Houses, cast out rott'n Members.* If there were a Man of Iron, such as *Talus*, by our Poet *Spencer*, is feign'd to be the page of Justice, who with his Iron Flaile could do all this, and expeditiously, without those deceitful Forms and Circumstances of Law, worse then Ceremonies in Religion; I say God send it done, whether by one *Talus*, or by a thousand.

But

But they ſubdu'd the Men of Conſcience in Parliament, back'd and abetted all ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.

Now we may perceive the root of his hatred whence it ſprings. It was not the Kings Grace or Princely goodneſs, but this Iron Flaile the People that drove the Biſhops out of their Baronies, out of their Cathedrals, out of the Lords Houſe, out of their Copes and Surplices, and all thoſe Papiſtical Innovations, threw down the High-Commiſſion and Star-chamber, gave us a Triennial Parliament, and what we moſt deſir'd; in revenge whereof he now ſo bitterly inveighs againſt them; theſe are thoſe ſeditious and ſchiſmatical Propoſals, then by him condeſcended to, as Acts of Grace, now of another name; which declares him, touching matters of Church and State, to have been no other Man in the deepeſt of his ſolitude, then he was before at the higheſt of his Sovereignty.

But this was not the worſt of theſe tumults, they plaid the haſty *Midwives*, and *would not ſtay the ripening, but went ſtreight to ripping up, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes.*

They would not ſtay perhaps the Spaniſh demurring, and putting off ſuch wholeſome Acts and Counſels, as the Politic Cabin at *White-hall* had no mind to. But all this is complain'd here as done to the Parliament, and yet we heard not the Parliament at that time complain of any violence from the People, but from him. Wherefore intrudes he to plead the cauſe of Parliament againſt the People, while the Parliament was pleading their own cauſe againſt him; and againſt him were forc'd to ſeek refuge of the People? 'Tis plain then that thoſe confluxes and reſorts interrupted not the

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Parliament, nor by them were thought Tumultuous, but by him only and his Court Faction.

But what good Man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſir'd for the public good, then attain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means; as much as to ſay, Had not rather ſit ſtill and let his Country be tyranniz'd, then that the Peop'e, finding no other Remedy, ſhould ſtand up like Men and demand their Rights and Libetties. This is the artificialeſt piece of fineneſs to perſwade Men to be Slaves that the wit of Court could have invented. But here how much better the Moral of this Leſſon would befit the Teacher. What good man had not rather want a boundleſs and Arbitrary Power, and thoſe fine Flowers of the Crown, cali'd Prerogatives, then for them to uſe Force and perpetual Vexation to his faithful Subjects, nay to wade for them through Blood and Civil-War. So that this and the whole bundle of thoſe following Sentences may be apply'd better to the convincement of his own violent Courſes, then of thoſe pretended Tumults.

Who were the chief Demagogues to ſend for thoſe Tumults, ſome alive are not ignorant. Setting aſide the affrightment of this Goblin word; for the King by his leave cannot Coin *Engliſh* as he could Money, to be current (and 'tis believ'd this wording was above his known Stile and Orthography, and accuſes the whole compoſure to be conſcious of ſome other Author) yet if the People *were ſent for, embold'nd and directed* by thoſe *Demagogues*, who ſaving his *Greek*, were good Patriots, and by his own confeſſion *Men of ſome repute for Parts and Piety*, it helps well to aſſure us there was both urgent cauſe, and the leſs danger of their coming.

Complaints

Complaints were made, yet no redress could be obtain'd. The Parliament also complain'd of what danger they stood in from another Party, and demanded of him a Guard, but it was not granted. What marvel then if it chear'd them to see some store of their Friends, and in the *Roman* not the pettifogging Sense, their Clients so near about them, a Defence due by Nature both from whom it was offer'd, and to whom; as due as to their Parents, though the Court storm'd, and frowned to see such honour giv'n to them, who were then best Fathers of the Common-wealth. And both the Parliament and People complain'd, and demanded Justice for those assaults if not Murthers done at his own doors, by that crew of Ruffiers; but he, instead of doing Justice on them, justifi'd and abetted them in what they did, as in his Public Answer to a Petition from the City may be read. Neither is it slightly to be pass'd over, that in the very place where Blood was first drawn in this cause, as the beginning of all that follow'd, there was his own Blood shed by the Executioner. According to that Sentence of Divine Justice, *in the place where Dogs lick'd the Blood of* Naboth, *shall Dogs lick thy Blood, even thine.*

From hence he takes occasion to excuse that improvident and fatal Error of his absenting from the Parliament. *When he found that no Declaration of the Bishops could take place against those Tumults.* Was that worth his considering, that foolish and self-undoing Declaration of twelve Cypher Bishops, who were immediately impeacht of Treason for that audacious Declaring? The Bishops peradventure were now and then pull'd by the Roches, and deserv'd another kind of pulling; but what amounted this to *the fear of his own Person in the*

Streets?

Streets? Did he not the very next day after his irruption in the House of Commons, then which nothing had more exasperated the People, go in his Coach unguarded into the City; did he receive the least Affront, much less Violence in any of the Streets, but rather humble Demeanors, and Supplications? Hence may be gather'd, that however in his own guiltiness he might have justly fear'd, yet that he knew the People so full of Aw and Reverence to his Person, as to dare commit himself single amongst the thickest of them, at a time when he had most provok'd them. Besides in *Scotland* they had handl'd the Bishops in a more robustious manner; *Edinrugh* had been full of Tumults, two Armies from thence had entered *England* against him; yet after all this, he was not fearful, but very forward to take so long a Journey to *Edinbrough*; which argues first, as did also his Rendition afterward to the *Scotch* Army, that to *England* he continu'd still, as he was indeed, a stranger, and full of diffidence; to the *Scots* only a Native King, in his Confidence, though not in his dealing towards them. It shews us next beyond doubting, that all this his fear of Tumults was but a meer Pretence and Occasion tak'n of his resolved absence from the Parliament, for some other end not difficult to be guess'd. And those instances wherein Valour is not to be question'd for not *Scuffling with the Sea or an undisciplin'd Rabble*, are but subservient to carry on the solemn Jest of his fearing Tumults: if they discover not withal, the true Reason why he departed; only to turn his slashing at the Court Gate, to Slaughtering *in the Field*; his disorderly bickering, to an orderly invading: which was nothing else but a more orderly disorder.

Some ſuſpected and affirm'd, that he meditated a War when he went firſt from White-Hall. And they were not the worſt Heads that did ſo, nor did *any of his former acts weak'n him* to that, as he alledges for himſelf, or if they had, they clear him only for the time of paſſing them, not for what even thoughts might come after into his Mind. Former actions of improvidence or fear, not with him unſual, cannot abſolve him of all after Meditations.

He goes on proteſting his *no intention to have left White Hall*, had thoſe horrid Tumults giv'n him but *Fair Quarter*, as if he himſelf, his Wife and Children had been in peril. But to this enough hath been anſwer'd.

Had this Parliament as it was in its firſt Election, Namely, with the Lord and Baron Biſhops, *ſate full and free*, he doubts not but all had gone well. What warrant this of his to us? Whoſe not doubting was all good Mens greateſt doubt.

He was reſolv'd to hear Reaſon, and to conſent ſo far as he could comprehend. A hopeful Reſolution; what if his Reaſon were found by oft Experience to comprehend nothing beyond his own Advantages, was this a Reaſon fit to be intruſted with the common Good of Three Nations?

But, ſaith he, *as Swine are to Gardens, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments.* This the Parliament, had they found it ſo, could beſt have told us. In the mean while, who knows not that one great Hog may do as much miſchief in a Garden as many little Swine.

He was ſometimes prone to think that had he call'd this laſt Parliament to any other place in England, *the ſad Conſequences might have been prevented.* But change of Air changes not the Mind. Was not his firſt

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Parliament at *Oxford* diſſolv'd after two Subſidies giv'n him, and no Juſtice receiv'd? Was not his laſt in the ſame place, where they ſate with as much Freedom, as much quiet from Tumults, as they could deſire, a Parliament both in his account, and their own, conſiſting of all his Friends, that fled after him, and ſuffer'd for him, and yet by him nicknam'd, and caſheer'd for a *Mungril Parliament that vext his Queen with their baſe and mutinous Motions*, as his Cabinet Letters tells us. Whereby the World may ſee plainly, that no ſhifting of place, no ſifting of Members to his own Mind, no Number, no Paucity, no Freedom from Tumults, could ever bring his Arbitrary Wilfulneſs, and Tyrannical Deſigns to break the leaſt Shape or Similitude, the leaſt Counterfeit of a Parliament.

Finally in ſtead of Praying for his People as a good King ſhould do, he prays to be deliver'd from them, as *from Wild Beaſts, Inundations, and Raging Seas, that had overborn all Loyalty, Modeſty, Laws, Juſtice, and Religion.* God ſave the People from ſuch Interceſſors.

V. *Upon the Bill for Triennial Parliaments; and for ſetling this, &c.*

THE Bill for Triennial Parliaments was doubtleſs a good Bill, and the other for ſetling this was at that time very expedient; and in the Kings own Words no more then what the World *was fully confirm'd he might in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience grant them*; for to that end he affirms to have done it.

But whereas he attributes the passing of them to his own act of grace and willingness, as his manner is to make vertues of his necessities, and giving to himself all the praise, heaps Ingratitude upon the Parliament, a little memory will set the clean contrary before us; that for those Beneficial Acts we owe what we owe to the Parliament; but to his granting them neither praise nor thanks. The first Bill granted much less then two former Statutes yet in force by *Edward* the Third; that a Parliament should be call'd every Year, or ofter if need were; nay from a far ancienter Law Book call'd the *Mirror*, it is affirm'd in a late Treatise call'd *Rights of the Kingdoms*, that Parliaments by our old Laws ought twice a Year to be at *London*. The second was so necessary that nothing in the Power of Man, more seem'd to be the stay and support of all things from that steep Ruin, to which he had nigh brought them, then that Act obtain'd. He had by his ill Stewardship, and, to say no worse, the needless raising of two Armies, intended for a Civil War, beggar'd both himself and the Public: and besides had left us upon the score of his needy Enemies, for what it cost them in their own Defence against him. To disengage him and the Kingdom, great Sums were to be borrow'd which would never have been lent, nor could ever be repaid, had the King chanc'd to dissolve that Parliament as heretofore. The Errors also of his Government had brought the Kingdom to such extreams, as were incapable of all recovery without the absolute continuance of this Parliament. It had been else in vain to go about the settling of so great Distempers, if he who first caus'd the Malady might when he pleas'd reject the Remedy. Notwithstanding all which, that he granted both these

Acts unwillingly, and as a meer passive Instrument, was then visible ev'n to most of those Men who now will see nothing.

At passing of the former Act he himself conceal'd not his unwillingness; and testifying a general dislike of their Actions, which they then proceeded in with great approbation of the whole Kingdom, he told them with a masterly Brow, that *by this Act he had oblig'd them above what they had deserv'd*, and gave a piece of Justice to the Common-wealth three times short of his Predecessors, as if he had been giving some boon, or begg'd Office to a sort of his desertless Grooms.

That he pass'd the latter Act against his will, no Man in Reason can hold it questionable. For if the *February* before he made so dainty, and were so loath to bestow a Parliament once in three Years upon the Nation, because this had so oppos'd his Courses, was it likely that the *May* following he should bestow willingly on this Parliament an indissoluble sitting, when they had offended him much more, by cutting short and impeaching of High Treason his chief Favourites? It was his fear then, not his favour which drew from him that Act, left the Parliament, incens'd by his Conspiracies against them about the same time discover'd, should with the People have resented too heinously those his doings, if to the supicion of their danger from him, he had also added the denial of this only means to secure themselves.

From these Acts therefore in which he glories and wherewith so oft he upbraids the Parliament he cannot justly expect to reap ought but dishonour and dispraise; as being both unwillingly granted, and the one granting much less then was before allow'd by Statute, the other being a testimony

ſtimony of his Violent and Lawleſs Cuſtom, not only to break Priviledges, but whole Parliaments; from which Enormity they were conſtrain'd to bind him firſt of all his Predeceſſors; never any before him having giv'n like cauſes of diſtruſt and jealouſie to his People. As for this Parliament, how far he was from being advis'd by them, as he ought, let his own Words expreſs.

He taxes them with *undoing what they found well done:* and yet knows they undid nothing in the Church but Lord Biſhops, Liturgies, Ceremonies, High Commiſſion, Judg'd worthy by all true Proteſtants to be thrown out of the Church. They undid nothing in the State but irregular and grinding Courts, the main Grievances to be remov'd; and if theſe were the things which in his Opinion they found well done, we may again from hence be inform'd with what unwillingneſs he remov'd them? and that thoſe gracious Acts whereof ſo frequently he makes mention, may be Engliſh'd more properly Acts of Fear and Diſſimulation againſt his Mind and Conſcience.

The Bill preventing Diſſolution of this Parliament, he calls, *An unparalell'd Act out of the extream Confidence that his Subjects would not make ill uſe of it.* But was it not a greater Confidence of the People to put into one Mans Hand ſo great a Power, till he abus'd it, as to Summon and Diſſolve Parliaments? He would be thankt for truſting them, and ought to thank them rather for truſting him: the truſt iſſuing firſt from them, not from him.

And that it was a meer truſt, and not his Prerogative, to call and diſſolve Parliaments at his pleaſure, and that Parliaments were not to be diſſolv'd, till all Petitions were heard, all Grievances redreſt, is not only the aſſertion of this Parliament but

but of our Ancient Law Books, which aver it to be an unwritten Law of Common Right, ſo Engrav'n in the Hearts of our Anceſtors, and by them ſo conſtantly enjoy'd and claim'd, as that it needed not enrouling. And if the *Scots* in their Declaration could charge the King with breach of their Laws, for breaking up that Parliament without their Conſent, while Matters of greateſt moment were depending, it were unreaſonable to imagin that the Wiſdom of *England* ſhould be ſo wanting to it ſelf through all Ages, as not to provide by ſome known Law Written or Unwritten, againſt the not calling, or the Arbitrary diſſolving of Parliaments; or that they who ordain'd their Summoning twice a Year, or as oft as need required, did not tacitly enact alſo, that as neceſſity of Affairs call'd them, ſo the ſame neceſſity ſhould keep them undiſſolv'd, till that were fully ſatisfy'd. Were it not for that, Parliaments, and all the Fruit and Benefit we receive by having them, would turn ſoon to meer Abuſion. It appears then that if this Bill of not diſſolving were an unparallel'd Act, it was a known and common Right which our Anceſtors under other Kings enjoy'd as firmly as if it had been graven in Marble; and that the Infringement of this King firſt brought it into a written Act: Who now boaſts that, as a great favour done us, which his own leſs fidelity then was in former Kings conſtrain'd us only of an old undoubted Right to make a New Written Act. But what needed Written Acts, when as anciently it was eſteemed part of his Crown Oath not to diſſolve Parliaments, till all Grievances were conſidered; whereupon the old *Modi of Parliament*, calls it flat Perjury, if he diſſolve them before; as I find cited in a Book mention'd at the beginning of this

Chapter, to which and other Law-tractats I refer the more Lawyerly mooting of this Point: which is neither my Element, nor my proper Work here, ſince the Book which I have to Anſwer pretends to Reaſon, not to Authorities and Quotations: and I hold Reaſon to be the beſt Arbitrator, and the Law of Law it ſelf.

'Tis true, *That goood Subjects think it not juſt that the Kings condition ſhould be worſe by bettering theirs.* But then the King muſt not be at ſuch a diſtance from the People in judging what is better and what worſe; which might have been agreed, *had he known* (for his own words condemn him) *as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire his own Advantages.*

A continual Parliament he thought would keep the Common-wealth in tune. Judge Common-wealth what proofs he gave, that this boaſted profeſſion was ever in his thought.

Some, ſaith he, *gave out that I repented me of that ſettling act.* His own actions give it out beyond all Suppoſition. For doubtleſs it repented him to have eſtabliſh'd that by Law, which he went about ſo ſoon after to abrogate by the Sword.

He calls thoſe Acts which he confeſſes, *tended to their good, not more Princely then friendly Contributions.* As if to do his Duty were of Courteſie, and the diſcharge of his truſt a parcel of his Liberality; ſo nigh loſt in his Eſteem was the Birth right of our Liberties, that to give them back again upon demand ſtood at the Mercy of his *Contributions.*

He doubts not but the Affections of his People will compenſate his Sufferings for thoſe Acts of Confidence. And imputes his Sufferings to a contrary Cauſe. Not his Confidence, but *his diſtruſt* was that which brought

brought him to thoſe ſufferings, from the time that he forſook his Parliament, and truſted them ne're the ſooner for what he tells *of their Piety and Religious ſtrictneſs*, but rather hated them as Puritans, whom he always ſought to extirpate.

He would have it believ'd, that *to bind his hands by theſe Acts argu'd a very ſhort foreſight of things, and extream fatuity of mind in him*, if he had meant a War. If we ſhould conclude ſo, that were not the only Argument: Neither did it argue that he meant peace; knowing that what he granted for the preſent out of fear, he might as ſoon repeal by force, watching his time; and deprive them the Fruit of thoſe Acts, if his own deſigns, wherein he put his truſt, took effect.

Yet he complains, *That the Tumults threatn'd to abuſe all Acts of Grace and turn them into wantonneſs.* I would they had turn'd his wantonneſs into the grace of not abuſing Scripture. Was this becoming ſuch a Saint as they would make him, to adulterate thoſe Sacred words from the grace of God to the Acts of his own Grace? *Herod* was eat'n up of Worms for ſuffering others to compare his voice to the voice of God; but the Borrower of this phraſe gives much more cauſe of jealouſie that he lik'ned his own Acts of Grace to the Acts of Gods Grace.

From profaneneſs he ſcarce comes off with perfect ſenſe, *I was not then in a capacity to make War*, therefore *I intended not. I was not in a capacity*, therefore *I could not have giv'n my Enemies greater advantage then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy to have ſcatter'd them by Arms, whom but lately I had ſettl'd by Parliament.* What place could there be for his inconſtancy to do that thing whereto he was in no capacity? Otherwiſe his inconſtancy was not ſo

unwonted,

unwonted, or so nice but that it would have easily found pretences to scatter those in revenge, whom he setl'd in fear.

It had been a course full of sin as well as of hazzard and dishonour. True, but if those considerations with-held him not from other Actions of like nature, how can we believe they were of strength sufficient to with-hold him from this? And that they with-held him not, the event soon taught us.

His letting some men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple was a temptation to them to cast him down headlong. In this *Simily* we have himself compar'd to *Christ*, the Parliament to the *Devil*, and his giving them that Act of settling, to his letting them go up to the *Pinnacle of the Temple*. A tottring and giddy Act rather then a settling. This was goodly use made of Scripture in his Solitudes. But it was no Pinnacle of the Temple, it was a Pinnacle of *Nebuchadnezzars* Palace from whence he and Monarchy fell headlong together.

He would have others see that *All the Kingdoms of the World are not worth gaining by ways of sin which hazzard the Soul?* and hath himself left nothing unhazzarded to keep three. He concludes with Sentences that rightly Stand make not so much for him as against him, and confesses that *The Act of settling was no sin of his will*, and we easily believe him, for it hath been clearly prov'd a sin of his unwillingness.

With his Orisons I meddle not, for he appeals to a high Audit. This yet may be noted, that at his Prayers he had before him the sad presage of his ill success, *As of a dark and dangerous Storm which never admitted his return to the Port*

from

from whence he ſet out. Yet his Prayer-Book no ſooner ſhut, but other hopes flatter'd him; and their flattering was his deſtruction.

VI. *Upon his Retirement from* Weſtminiſter.

THE Simily wherewith he begins I was about to have found fault with, as in a garb ſomewhat more Poetical then for a Statiſt: but meeting with many ſtrains of like dreſs in other of his Eſſaies, and hearing him reported a more diligent reader of Poets, then of Politicians, I begun to think that the whole Book might perhaps be intended a piece of Poetry. The words are good, the fiction ſmooth and cleanly; there wanted only Rime, and that, they ſay, is beſtow'd upon it lately. But to the Argument. *I ſlay'd at White-Hall till I was driv'n away by ſhame more then fear.* I retract not what I thought of the fiction, yet here, I muſt confeſs, it lies too op'n. In his Meſſages, and Declarations, nay in the whole Chapter next but one before this, he affirms that *The danger, wherein his Wife, his Children, and his own Perſon* were by thoſe Tumults, was the main cauſe that drove him from *White-Hall*, and appeals to God as witneſs: he affirms here that it was *ſhame more then fear.* And *Digby*, who knew his mind as well as any, tells his new-lifted Guard, *That the principal cauſe of his Majeſties going thence, was to ſave them from being trod in the dirt.* From whence we may diſcern what falſe and frivolous excuſes are avow'd for truth, either in thoſe Declarations, or in this Penitential Book. Our forefathers were of that courage and ſeverity of Zeal to Juſtice, and their native

native Liberty, against the proud contempt and misrule of their Kings, that when *Richard* the Second departed but from a Committee of Lords, who sate preparing matter for the Parliament, not yet assembl'd, to the removal of his evil Counsellors they first vanquish'd and put to flight *Robert de Vere* his chief Favorite, and then coming up to *London* with a huge Army, requir'd the King then withdrawn for fear, but no further off then the Tower, to come to *Westminister*. Which he refusing, they told him flatly, that unless he came, they would choose another. So high a Crime it was accounted then, for Kings to absent themselves, not from a Parliament, which none ever durst, but from any meeting of his Peers and Counsellors, which did but tend towards a Parliament. Much less would they have suffer'd that a King for such trivial and various pretences, one while for fear of Tumults, another while *for shame to see them*, should leave his Regal Station, and the whole Kingdom bleeding to death of those wounds which his own unskilful and perverse Government had inflicted.

Shame then it was that drove him from the Parliament, but the shame of what? Was it the shame of his Manifold Errours and Misdeeds, and to see how weakly he had play'd the King? No; *But to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults to demand any thing*. We have started here another, and, I believe, the truest cause of his Deserting the Parliament. The worst and strangest of that *Any thing* which the People then demanded, was but the unlording of Bishops, and expelling them the House, and the reducing of Church-Discipline to a conformity with other Protestant Churches: this was the *Barbarism* of those Tumults; and that he might

avoid

avoid the granting of those honest and pious demands, as well demanded by the Parliament as the People, for this very cause, more then for fear, by his own Confession here, he left the City; and in a most Tempestuous Season forsook the Helm, and steerage of the Common-wealth. This was that terrible *Any thing* from which his *Conscience* and *his Reason* choose to run rather then not deny. To be importun'd the removing of evil Counsellors, and other greivances in Church and State, was to him *an intollerable oppression*. If the Peoples demanding were so burd'nsome to him, what was his denial and delay of Justice to them?

But as the demands of his People were to him a burd'n and oppression, so was the Advice of his Parliament esteem'd a Bondage, *Whose agreeing Votes*, as he affirms, *were not by any Law or reason conclusive to his judgment*. For the Law, it ordains a Parliament to Advise him in his great Affairs; but if it ordain also that the single judgement of a King shall out-ballance all the Wisdom of his Parliament, it ordains that which frustrats the end of its own ordaining. For where the Kings judgement may dissent, to the destruction, as it may happ'n both of himself and the Kingdom, there advice, and no further, is a most insufficient, and frustraneous means to be provided by Law, in Cases of so High Concernment. It being therefore most unlike a Law, to ordain a remedy so slender and unlawlike, to be the utmost means of all Public Safety, or Prevention, as Advice is, which may at any time be rejected by the sole judgement of one Man, the King, and so unlike the Law of *England*, which Lawyers say is the quintessence of reason, we may conclude that the Kings negative voice was never any Law, but an absurd

and

and reasonless Custom, begott'n and grown u either from the flattery of baseſt times, or the u surpation of immoderate Princes. Thus much t the Law of it, by a better evidence then Rowl and Records, Reason.

But is it possible he should pretend also to rea son, that the judgement of one Man, not as wise or good Man, but as a King, and oft-times a wilful, proud, and wicked King, should out-weigh the prudence, and all the vertue of an ele-cted Parliament? What an abusive thing it were then to summon Parliaments, that by the majo part of voices greatest matters may be there de-bated and resolv'd, when as any one voice after that shall dash all their Resolutions?

He attempts to give a reason why it should, *Be-cause the whole Parliament represents not him in any kind.* But mark how little he advances; for if the Parliament represent the whole Kingdom, as is sure enough they do, then doth the King re-present only himself; and if a King without his Kingdom be in a civil sense nothing, then with-out or against the Representative of his whole Kingdom he himself represents nothing, and by consequence his judgement and his negative is as good as nothing; and though we should allow him to be something, yet not equal, or comparable to the whole Kingdom, and so neither to them that represent it.

Yet here he maintains *To be no further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then he sees them to agree with the will of God, with his just Rights as a King, and the general good of his People.* As to the Freedom of his agreeing or not agreeing, limi-ted with due Bounds, no Man reprehends it; this is the Question here, or the Miracle rather, why

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his only not agreeing ſhould lay a Negative Bar and Inhibition upon that which is agreed to by a whole Parliament, though never ſo conducing to the Public Good or Safety. To know the will of God better then his whole Kingdom, Whence ſhould he have it? Certainly Court-breeding and his perpetual converſation with Flatterers, was but a bad School. To judge of his own Rights could not belong to him, who had no right by Law in any Court to judge of ſo much as Fellony or Treaſon, being held a Party in both theſe Caſes, much more in this; and his Right however ſhould give place to the general good, for which end all his Rights were giv'n him. Laſtly to ſuppoſe a clearer inſight and diſcerning of the general good, allotted to his own ſingular judgment, then to the Parliament and all the People, and from that ſelf-opinion of diſcerning, to deny them that good which they being all Freemen ſeek earneſtly, and call for, is an arrogance and iniquity beyond imagination rude and unreaſonable: they undoubtedly having moſt Authority to judge of the Public good, who for that purpoſe are chos'n out, and ſent by the People to adviſe him. And if it may be in him to ſee oft *the major part of them not in the right*, had it not been more his Modeſty to have doubted their ſeeing him more oft'n in the wrong?

He paſſes to another reaſon of his denials, *Becauſe of ſome Mens hydropic unſatiableneſs, and thirſt of asking, the more they drank, whom no fountain of regal bounty was able to overcome.* A compariſon more properly beſtow'd on thoſe that came to guzzle in his Wine-cellar, then on a free-born People that came to Claim in Parliament their Rights and Liberties, which a King ought therefore to grant, becauſe

and reasonless Custom, begott'n and grown up either from the flattery of basest times, or the usurpation of immoderate Princes. Thus much to the Law of it, by a better evidence then Rowls and Records, Reason.

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becauſe of right demanded; not to deny them for fear his bounty ſhould be exhauſt, which in theſe demands (to continue the ſame Metaphor) was not ſo much as Broach'd; it being his duty, not his bounty to grant theſe things.

Putting off the Courtier he now puts on the Philoſopher, and ſententiouſly diſputes to this effect, *That reaſon ought to be us'd to Men, force and terror to Beaſts; that he deſerves to be a ſlave who captivates the rational Sovereignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will to compulſion; that he would not forfeit that Freedom which cannot be deny'd him, as a King, becauſe it belongs to him as a Man and a Chriſtian, though to preſerve his Kingdom, but rather dye enjoying the Empire of his Soul, then live in ſuch a vaſſalage as not to uſe his Reaſon and Conſcience to like or diſlike as a King.* Which words, of themſelves, as far as they are ſenſe, good and Philoſophical, yet in the mouth of him who to engroſs this common liberty to himſelf, would tred down all other Men into the condition of Slaves and Beaſts, they quite looſe their commendation. He confeſſes a rational Sovereignty of Soul, and Freedom of will in every Man, and yet with an implicit repugnancy would have his Reaſon the Sovereign of that Sovereignty, and would captivate and make uſeleſs that natural Freedom of Will in all other Men but himſelf. But them that yeild him this Obedience he ſo well rewards, as to pronounce them worthy to be Slaves. They who have loſt all to be his Subjects, may ſtoop and take up the reward. What that Freedom is, which *cannot be deny'd him as a King, becauſe it belongs to him as a Man, and a Chriſtian*, I underſtand not. If it be his negative voice, it concludes all Men who have not ſuch a negative as his againſt a whole Parliament, to be neither Men, nor Chriſtians: and what

what was he himſelf then, all this while that we deny'd it him as a King? Will he ſay that he enjoy'd within himſelf the leſs Freedom for that? Might not he, both as a Man and as a Chriſtian have Reign'd within himſelf, in full Sovereignty of Soul, no Man repining, but that his outward and imperious Will muſt Invade the Civil Liberties of a Nation? Did we therefore not permit him to uſe his Reaſon or his Conſcience, not permitting him to bereave us the uſe of ours? And might not he have enjoy'd both, as a King, Governing us as Free-men by what Laws we our ſelves would be Govern'd? It was not the inward uſe of his reaſon and his conſcience that would content him, but to uſe them both as a Law over all his Subjects, *in whatever he declar'd as a King to like or diſlike.* Which uſe of reaſon, moſt reaſonleſs and unconſcionable, is the utmoſt that any Tyrant ever pretended over his Vaſſals.

In all wiſe Nations the Legiſlative Power, and the judicial Execution of that Power have been moſt commonly diſtinct, and in ſeveral hands: but yet the former ſupream, the other ſubordinate. If then the King be only ſet up to execute the Law, which is indeed the higheſt of his Office, he ought no more to make or forbid the making of any Law agreed upon in Parliament; then other inferior Judges, who are his Deputies. Neither can he more reject a Law offer'd him by the Commons, then he can new make a Law, which they reject. And yet the more to Credit and uphold his Cauſe, he would ſeem to have Philoſophy on his ſide; ſtraining her wiſe dictates to un-philoſophical purpoſes. But when Kings come ſo low, as to fawn upon Philoſophy, which before they neither valu'd nor underſtood, 'tis a ſign that faiſes

not, they are then put to their laſt Trump. And Philoſophy as well requits them, by not ſuffering her Gold'n Sayings either to become their Lipt, or to be us'd as Masks and Colours of injurious and violent Deeds. So that what they preſume to borrow from her ſage and vertuous Rules, like the *Riddle* of *Sphinx* not underſtood, breaks the Neck of their own Cauſe.

But now again to Politics: *He cannot think the Majeſty of the Crown of* England *to be bound by any Coronation Oath in a Blind and Brutiſh Formality, to Conſent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament ſhall require.* What Tyrant could preſume to ſay more, when he meant to kick down all Law, Government, and Bond of Oath? But why he ſo deſires to abſolve himſelf from the Oath of his Coronation would be worth the knowing. It cannot but be yeilded, that the Oath which Binds him to performance of his Truſt, ought in reaſon to contain the Sum of what his Chief Truſt and Office is. But if it neither do enjoyn, nor mention to him, as a part of his duty, the making or the marring of any Law or ſcarp of Law, but requires only his Aſſent to th ſe Laws which the People have already chos'n o ſhall chooſe (for ſo both the *Latin* of that Oath, and the old *Engliſh*, and all Reaſon admits, that the People ſhould not looſe under a new King what Freedom they had before) then that Negative voice ſo contended for, to deny the paſſing of any Law which the Commons chooſe, is both againſt the Oath of his Coronation, and his Kingly Office. And if the King may deny to paſs what the Parliament hath chos'n to be a Law, then doth the King make himſelf Superiour to his whole Kingdom; which not only the general Maxims of Policy gai ſay, but ev'n our own ſtanding Laws,

as hath been cited to him in Remonſtrances heretofore, that *The King hath two Superiours, the Law and his Court of Parliament.* But this he counts to be a Blind and Brutiſh Formality, whether it be Law, or Oath, or his duty, and thinks to turn it off with wholeſom words and phraſes, which he then firſt learnt of the honeſt People, when they were ſo oft'n compell'd to uſe them againſt thoſe more truly Blind and Brutiſh Formalities thruſt upon us by his own command.

As for his inſtance, in caſe *He and the Houſe of Peers attempted to enjoyn the Houſe of Commons*, it bears no equality; for he and the Peers repreſent but themſelves, the Commons are the whole Kingdom.

Thus he concludes *his Oath to be fully diſcharg'd in Governing by Laws already made*, as being not bound to paſs any new, *if his Reaſon bids him deny.* And ſo many infinite miſchiefs grow, and a whole Nation be ruin'd, while our general good and ſafety ſhall depend upon the privat and overweening Reaſon of one obſtinat Man, who againſt all the Kingdom, if he liſt, will interpret both the Law and his Oath of Coronation by the Tenor of his own Will. Which he himſelf confeſſes to be an Arbitrary Power, yet doubts not in his Argument to imply, as if he thought it more fit the Parliament ſhould be Subject to his Will, then he to their Advice, a Man neither by nature nor by nurture wiſe. How is it poſſible that he in whom ſuch Principles as theſe were ſo deep rooted, could ever, though reſtor'd again, have reign'd otherwiſe then Tyrannically.

He objects *That Force was but a ſlaviſh method to diſpel his Error.* But how oft'n ſhall it be anſwer'd him that no Force was us'd to diſpel the Error out

of his head, but to drive it from off our necks: for his Error was imperious, and would command all other Men to renounce their own reason and understanding, till they periſh'd under the injunction of his all-ruling Error.

He alledges the uprightneſs of his intentions to excuſe his poſſible failings; a poſition falls both in Law and Divinity: Yea contrary to his own better Principles, who affirms in the twelfth Chapter, that *The goodneſs of a Mans intention, will not excuſe the ſcandal, and contagion of his example.* His not knowing, through the corruption of flattery and Court Principles, what he ought to have known, will not excuſe his not doing what he ought to have done: no more then the ſmall skill of him who undertakes to be a *Pilot*, will excuſe him to be miſled by any wandring Star miſtak'n for the Pole. But let his intentions be never ſo upright, what is that to us? What anſwer for the reaſon and the National Rights which God hath giv'n us, if having Parliaments, and Laws and the Power of making more to avoid miſcheif, we ſuffer one Mans Blind Intentions to lead us all with our Eyes op'n to manifeſt deſtruction.

And if Arguments prevail not with ſuch a one, force is well us'd; not *to carry on the weakneſs of our Counſels, or to convince his Error*, as he ſurmiſes, but to acquit and reſcue our own reaſon, our own Conſciences from the Force and Prohibition laid by his uſurping Error upon our Liberties and Underſtandings.

Never thing pleas'd him more then when his judgement concur'd with theirs. That was to the applauſe of his own judgement, and would as well have pleas'd any ſelf-conceited Man.

Yea

Yea in many things he chooſe rather to deny himſelf then them. That is to ſay in trifles. For *of his own Intereſts* and Perſonal Rights he conceives himſelf *Maſter.* To part with, if he pleaſe, not to conteſt for, againſt the Kingdom which is greater then he, whoſe Rights are all ſubordinate to the Kingdoms good: And *in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the right of Church, or his Crown, no Man ſhall gain his Conſent againſt his mind.* What can be left then for a Parliament, but to ſit like Images, while he ſtill thus either with incomparable arrogance aſſumes to himſelf the beſt Ability of Judging for other Men what is Truth, Juſtice, Goodneſs, what his own, or the Churches right, or with unſufferable Tyranny reſtrains all Men from the enjoyment of any good, which his judgement, though erroneous, thinks not fit to grant them; notwithſtanding that the Law and his Coronal Oath requires his undeniable aſſent to what Laws the Parliament agree upon.

He had rather wear a Crown of Thorns with our Saviour. Many would be all one with our Saviour, whom our Saviour will not know. They who Govern ill thoſe Kingdoms which they had a right to, have to our Saviours Crown of Thorns no right at all. Thorns they may find anew, of their own gathering, and their own twiſting: for Thorns and Snares, ſaith *Solomon*, are in the way of the froward; but to wear them as our Saviour wore them is not giv'n to them that ſuffer by their own demerits. Nor is a Crown of Gold his due who cannot firſt wear *a Crown of Lead*; not only for the weight of that great Office, but for the compliance which it ought to have with them who are to counſel him, which here he terms in ſcorn *An imbaſed flexibleneſs to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions*, meaning his Parliament; for the queſtion hath been all this while

between them two. And to his Parliament, though a numerous and choiſe Aſſembly of whom the Land thought wiſeſt, he imputes rather then to himſelf, *want of reaſon, neglect of the Public intereſt of Parties, and particularity of private will and paſſion*; but with what modeſty or likelyhood of truth it will be wearifom to repeat ſo oft'n.

He concludes with a Sentence fair in ſeeming, but fallacious. For if the Conſcience be ill edifi'd, the reſolution may more befit a fooliſh then a Chriſtian King, to prefer a felf-will'd Conſcience before a Kingdoms good; eſpecially in the denial of that which Law and his Regal Office by Oath bids him grant to his Parliament, and whole Kingdom rightfully demanding. For we may obſerve him throughout the diſcourſe to aſſert his Negative Power againſt the whole Kingdom; now under the ſpecious Plea of his Conſcience and his Reaſon, but heretofore in a louder Note, *Without us, or againſt our Conſent, the Votes of either or of both Houſes together, muſt not, cannot, ſhall not: Declar.* May 4. 1642.

With theſe and the like deceivable Doctrins he levens alſo his Prayer.

VII. *Upon the Queens Departure.*

TO this Argument we ſhall ſoon have ſaid; for what concerns it us to hear a Husband divulge his Houſhould privacies, extolling to others the vertues of his Wife; an infirmity not ſeldom incident to theſe who have leaſt cauſe. But how good ſhe was a Wife, was to himſelf, and be it left to his own fancy; how bad a Subject, is not much diſputed. And being ſuch, it need be made

no

no wonder, though ſhe left a Proteſtant Kingdom with as little honour as her Mother left a Popiſh.

That this *Is the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects that have tak'n up Arms againſt their King a Proteſtant*, can be to Proteſtants no diſhonour; when it ſhall be heard that he firſt levied War on them, and to the intereſt of Papiſts more then of Proteſtants. He might have giv'n yet the precedence of making War upon him to the Subjects of his own Nation; who had twice oppos'd him in the op'n Field, long ere the *Engliſh* found it neceſſary to do the like. And how groundleſs, how diſſembl'd is that fear, leaſt ſhe, who for ſo many Years had been averſe from the Religion of her Husband, and every Year more and more, before theſe diſturbances broke out, ſhould for them be now the more Alienated from that to which we never heard ſhe was inclin'd. But if the fear of her Delinquency and that Juſtice which the Proteſtants demanded on her, was any cauſe of her alienating the more, to have gain'd her by indirect means had been no advantage to Religion; much leſs then was the detriment to looſe her further off. It had been happy if his own Actions had not giv'n cauſe of more ſcandal to the Proteſtants, then what they did againſt her could juſtly ſcandalize any Papiſt.

Them who accus'd her, well enough known to be the Parliament, he cenſures for *Men yet to ſeek their Religion, whether Doctrin, Diſciplin, or good Manners*; the reſt he ſoothes with the name of true *Engliſh* Proteſtants, a meer ſchiſmatical name, yet he ſo great an Enemy of Schiſm.

He aſcribes *Rudeneſs and Barbarity worſe then Indian* to the *Engliſh* Parliament: and *all vertue* to his Wife, in ſtrains that come almoſt to Sonnetring:

How fit to Govern Men, undervaluing and aſperſing the great Counſel of his Kingdom, in compariſon of one Woman. Examples are not far to ſeek, how great miſcheif and diſhonour hath befall'n two Nations under the Government of Effeminate and Uxorious Magiſtrates. Who being themſelves govern'd and overſway'd at home under a Feminin Uſurpation, cannot but be far ſhort of Spirit and Authority without doors, to govern a whole Nation.

Her tarrying here he could not think ſafe among them who were ſhaking hands with Allegiance to lay faſter hold on Religion; and taxes them of a duty rather then a Crime, it being juſt to obey God rather then Man, and impoſſible to ſerve two Maſters. I would they had quite ſhak'n off what they ſtood ſhaking hands with; the fault was in their courage, not in their cauſe.

In his Prayer he prays that *The Diſloyalty of his Proteſtant Subjects may not be a hindrance to her love of the true Religion*; and never prays that the diſſoluteneſs of his Court, the ſcandals of his Clergy, the unſoundneſs of his own judgement, the lukewarmneſs of his life, his Letter of compliance to the Pope, his permitting Agents at *Rome*, and the Popes *Nuntio* here, may not be found in the ſight of God far greater hindrances to her converſion.

But this had been a ſubtle Prayer indeed, and well pray'd, though as duly as a *Pater-noſter*, if it could have charm'd us to ſit ſtill, and have Religion and our Liberties one by one ſnatch'd from us, for fear leaſt riſing to defend our ſelves, we ſhould fright the Queen a ſtiff Papiſt from turning Proteſtant. As if the way to make his Queen a Proteſtant had been to make his Subjects more then half way Papiſts.

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He prays next, *That his constancy may be an Antidote against the Poyson of other Mens Example.* His constancy in what? Not in Religion, for it is op'nly known that her Religion wrought more upon him, then his Religion upon her, and his op'n favouring of Papists, and his hatred of them call'd Puritans, made most Men suspect the had quite perverted him. But what is it that the blindness of Hypocrisie dares not do? It dares pray, and thinks to hide that from the Eyes of God, which it cannot hide from the open view of Man.

VIII. *Upon His repulse at* Hull, *and the Fate of the* Hothams.

HULL, a Town of great Strength and Opportunity both to Sea and Land Affairs, was at that time the Magazin of all those Arms which the King had bought with Money most illegally Extorted from his Subjects of *England*, to use in a causeless and most unjust Civil War against his Subjects of *Scotland*. The King in high Discontent and Anger had left the Parliament and was gone toward the *North*; the Queen into *Holland*, where she pawn'd and set to Sail the Crown-Jewels (a Crime heretofore counted Treasonable in Kings) and to what intent these Sums were rais'd, the Parliament was not Ignorant. His going Northward in so high a Chafe they doubted was to possess himself of that Strength, which the Store-house and Situation of *Hull* might add suddenly to his malignant Party. Having first therefore in many Petitions earnestly pray'd him to dispose and settle, with Consent of both Houses, the military Power

power in truſty Hands, and he as oft refuſing, they were neceſſitated by the turbulence and danger of thoſe times to put the Kingdom by their own Authority into a poſture of Defence; and very timely ſent Sr. *John Hotham* a Member of the Houſe, and Knight of that County, to take *Hull* into his Cuſtody, and ſome of the Train'd-bands to his Aſſiſtance. Neither had the King before that time omitted to attempt the ſame, firſt by Colonel *Legg*, one of thoſe who were imploy'd to bring the Army up againſt the Parliament, then by the Earl of *Newcaſtle* under a diſguiſe. And Letters of the Lord *Digby* were intercepted, wherein was wiſht that the King would declare himſelf, and retire to ſome ſafe place; other Information came from abroad, that *Hull* was the place deſign'd for ſome new Enterprize. But theſe Attempts not ſucceeding, and that Town being now in Cuſtody of the Parliament, he ſends a Meſſage to them, that he had firmly reſolv'd to go in Perſon into *Ireland*, to chaſtiſe thoſe wicked Rebels (for theſe and worſe Words he then gave them) and that toward this Work he intended forthwith to raiſe by his Commiſſions, in the Counties near *Weſt-Cheſter*, a Guard for his own Perſon, conſiſting of 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, that ſhould be Arm'd from his Magazin at *Hull*. On the other ſide, the Parliament forſeeing the Kings drift, about the ſame time ſend him a Petition, that they might have leave for neceſſary Cauſes to remove the Magazin of *Hull* to the *Tower* of *London*; to which the King returns his denial; and ſoon after going to *Hull*, attended with about 400 Horſe, requires the Governour to deliver him up the Town; whereof the Governour beſought humbly to be excus'd, till he could ſend Notice to the Parliament who had intruſted him;

him; whereat the King much incens'd proclaims him Traytor before the Town Walls; and gives immediate order to ſtop all Paſſages between him and the Parliament. Yet he himſelf diſpatches Poſt after Poſt to demand Juſtice, as upon a Traitor: uſing a ſtrange Iniquity to require Juſtice upon him whom he then way-laid and debarr'd from his appearance. The Parliament no ſooner underſtood what had paſs'd, but they declare that Sir *John Hotham* had done no more then was his duty, and was therefore no Traytor.

This relation, being moſt true, proves that which is affirm'd here to be moſt falſe; ſeeing the Parliament, whom he accounts his *greateſt Enemies*, had *more confidence to abet and own* what Sir *John Hotham* had done, then the King had confidence to let him anſwer in his own behalf.

To ſpeak of his Patience, and in that ſolemn manner, he might better have forborn; *God knows* ſaith he, *it affected me more with ſorrow for others then with anger for my ſelf; nor did the Affront trouble me ſo much as their ſin.* This is read, I doubt not, and believ'd: and as there is ſome uſe of every thing, ſo is there of this Book, were it but to ſhew us, what a miſerable, credulous, deluded thing that Creature is, which is call'd the Vulgar; who notwithſtanding what they might know, will believe ſuch vain-glories as theſe. Did not that Choleric, and vengeful Act of proclaiming him Traytor before due proceſs of Law, having been convinc'd ſo late before of his Illegallity with the five Members, declare his anger to be incens'd? doth not his own relation confeſs as much? and his ſecond Meſſage left him fuming three days after, and in plain words teſtifies *his impatience of delay* till *Hotham* be ſeverely puniſh'd, for that which he there terms an inſpuportable Affront. Surely

Surely if his ſorrow for Sir *John Hothams* ſin were greater than his anger for the Affront, it was an exceeding great Sorrow indeed, and wondrous charitable. But if it ſtirr'd him ſo vehemently to have Sir *John Hotham* puniſht, and not at all, that we hear, to have him repent, it had a ſtrange Operation to be call'd a Sorrow for his Sin. He who would perſwade us of his Sorrow for the Sins of other Men, as they are Sins, not as they are ſin'd againſt himſelf, muſt give us firſt ſome teſtimony of a Sorrow for his own Sins, and next for ſuch Sins of other Men as cannot be ſuppos'd a direct Injury to himſelf. But ſuch Compunction in the King no Man hath yet obſerv'd; and till then, his Sorrow for Sr. *John Hothams* Sin will be call'd no other then the reſentment of his Repulſe; and his Labour to have the Sinner only puniſh'd, will be call'd by a right Name, his Revenge.

And *the Hand of that Cloud which caſt all ſoon after into darkneſs and diſorder*, was his own Hand. For aſſembling the Inhabitants of *York-ſhire*, and other Counties, Horſe and Foot, firſt under Colour of a New Guard to his Perſon, ſoon after, being ſupplí'd with Ammunition from *Holland*, bought with the Crown Jewels, he begins an open War by laying Siege to *Hull*. Which Town was not his own, but the Kingdoms; and the Arms there, public Arms, bought with the Public Mony, or not his own. Yet had they been his own by as good Right as the private Houſe and Arms of any Man are his own; to uſe either of them in a way not Private, but Suſpitious to the Common-wealth, no Law permits. But the King had no Propriety at all either in *Hull* or in the Magazin. So that the following *Maxims* which he cites *of bold and diſloyal Undertakers* may belong more juſtly to whom

he

he leaſt meant them. After this he again relapſes into the praiſe of his Patience at *Hull*, and by his overtalking of it, ſeems to doubt either his own Conſcience, or the hardneſs of other Mens belief. To me, the more he praiſes it in himſelf, the more he ſeems to ſuſpect that in very Deed it was not in him; and that the lookers on ſo likewiſe thought.

Thus much of what he ſuffer'd by *Hotham*, and with what Patience; now of what *Hotham* ſuffer'd, as he judges, for oppoſing him. *He could not but obſerve how God not long after pleaded and aveng'd his Cauſe.* Moſt Men are too apt, and commonly the worſt of Men, ſo to interpret and expound the Judgments of God, and all other Events of Providence or Chance, as makes moſt to the juſtifying of their own Cauſe, though never ſo Evil; and attribute all to the particular Favour of God towards them. Thus when *Saul* heard that *David* was in *Keilah*, *God*, ſaith he, *hath deliver'd him into my Hands, for he is ſhut in.* But how far that King was deceiv'd in his thought that God was favouring to his cauſe, that ſtory unfolds; and how little Reaſon this King had to impute the Death of *Hotham* to Gods Avengement of his repulſe at *Hull*, may eaſily be ſeen. For while *Hotham* continu'd faithful to his Truſt, no Man more Safe, more Succeſsful, more in Reputation then he. But from the time he firſt ſought to make his Peace with the King, and to betray into his hands that Town, into which before he had deny'd him entrance, nothing proſper'd with him. Certainly had God purpos'd him ſuch an end for his oppoſition to the King, he would not have deferr'd to puniſh him till then, when of an Enemy he was chang'd to be the Kings Friend, nor have made his Repentance and Amendment the occaſion of his Ruin. How much

much more likely is it, since he fell into the act of Disloyalty to his Charge, that the Judgment of God Concurr'd with the Punishment of Man, and justly cut him off for revolting to the King. To give the World an Example, that glorious Deeds done to ambitious Ends, find reward answerable, not to their outward seeming, but to their inward Ambition. In the mean while what thanks he had from the King for revolting to his Cause, and what good Opinion for dying in his Service, they who have ventur'd like him, or intend, may here take Notice.

He proceeds to declare, not only in general wherefore Gods Judgment was upon *Hotham*, but undertakes by Fancies and Allusions to give a Criticism upon every particular. *That his Head was divided from his Body, because his Heart was divided from the King: two Heads cut off in one Family for Affronting the Head of the Common-wealth; the Eldest Son being infected with the Sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country.* These petty Glosses and Conceits on the high and secret Judgments of God, besides the boldness of unwarrantable commenting, are so weak and shallow, and so like the quibbles of a Court Sermon, that we may safely reckon them either fetcht from such a Pattern, or that the hand of some Houshold Priest foisted them in; least the World should forget how much he was the Disciple of those Cymbal Doctors. But that Argument by which the Author would commend them to us, discredits them the more. For if they be so *obvious to every fancy*, the more likely to be erroneous, and to misconceive the Mind of those high Secrecies, whereof they presume to determin. For God Judges not by human Fancy.

But

But however God judg'd *Hotham*, yet he had the Kings pitty; but mark the Reason how prepoſterous; ſo far he had his pitty, *as he thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience then many other Men in the ſame Cauſe.* Queſtionleſs they who act againſt Conſcience, whether at the Bar of Human, or Divine Juſtice, are pittied leaſt of all. Theſe are the common Grounds and Verdicts of Nature, whereof when he who hath the judging of a whole Nation, is found deſtitute under ſuch a Governour, that Nation muſt needs be miſerable.

By the way he jerks at *ſome Mens reforming to Models of Religion, and that they think all is Gold of Piety that doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal.* We know his meaning; and apprehend how little hope there could be of him from ſuch Language as this: But are ſure that the Piety of his Prelatic Model, gliſter'd more upon the Poſts and Pillars which their Zeal and Fervency guilded over, then in the true Works of Spiritual Edification.

He is ſorry that Hotham *felt the Juſtice of others, and fell not rather into the hands of his mercy.* But to clear that, he ſhould have ſhewn us what mercy he had ever us'd to ſuch as fell into his hands before, rather then what mercy he intended to ſuch as never could come to ask it. Whatever mercy one Man might have expected, 'tis too well known, the whole Nation found none; though they beſought it oft'n, and ſo humbly; but had been ſwallowed up in Blood and Ruin, to ſet his private Will above the Parliament, had not his ſtrength fail'd him. *Yet Clemency he counts a Debt, which he ought to pay to thoſe that crave it; ſince we pay not any thing to God for his Mercy, but Prayers and Praiſes.* By this Reaſon we ought as freely to pay all things to all Men; for of

all

all that we receive from God, what do we pay for, more then Prayers and Praiſes? we look'd for the diſcharge of his Office, the payment of his Duty to the Kingdom, and are pay'd Court payment with empty Sentences, that have the ſound of Gravity, but the ſignificance of nothing pertinent.

Yet again after his Mercy paſt and granted, he returns back to give Sentence upon *Hotham*; and whom he tells us he would ſo fain have ſav'd alive, him he never leaves killing with a repeated Condemnation, though dead long ſince. It was ill that ſome body ſtood not near to whiſper him, that a reiterating Judge is worſe then a Tormentor. *He pitties him, he rejoyces not, he pitties him again*, but ſtill is ſure to brand him at the tail of his Pity, with ſome ignominious Mark either of Ambition or Diſloyalty. And with a kind of cenſorious Pity, aggravates rather then leſſens or conceals the Fault: To pitty thus is to triumph.

He aſſumes to foreknow that *after times will diſpute whether* Hotham *were more infamous at* Hull *or at* Tower-Hill. What knew he of after times, who while he ſits judging and cenſuring without end, the fate of that unhappy Father and his Son at *Tower-Hill*, knew not that the like fate attended him, before his own Palace Gate; and as little knew whether after times do not reſerve a greater infamy to the Story of his own Life and Reign.

He ſays but over again in his Prayer, what his Sermon hath Preacht; How acceptably to thoſe in Heaven we leave to be decided by that Precept which forbids *Vain Repetitions*. Sure enough it lies as heavy as he can lay it, upon the Head of poor *Hotham*.

Needs he will faſt'n upon God a piece of Revenge as done for his ſake; and takes it for a Favour, before

before he know it was intended him: which in his Closet had been excusable; but in a Written and Publish'd Prayer, too presumptuous. *Ecclesiastes* hath a right name for such kind of Sacrifices.

Going on, he prays thus, *Let not thy Justice prevent the Objects and Opportunities of my Mercy.* To Folly, or to Blasphemy, or to both shall we impute this? Shall the Justice of God give place, and serve to glorifie the Mercies of a Man? All other Men, who know what they ask, desire of God that their doings may tend to his Glory; but in this Prayer God is requir'd that his Justice would forbear to prevent, and as good have said to intrench upon the Glory of a Man Mercy. If God forbear his Justice it must be, sure, to the magnifying of his own Mercy: But here a mortal Man takes the boldness to ask that glory out of his Hand. It may be doubted now by them who understand Religion, whether the King were more unfortunate in this his Prayer, or *Hotham* in those his Sufferings.

IX. *Upon the Listing and Raising Armies, &c.*

IT were an endless Work to walk side by side with the Verbosity of this Chapter; only to what already hath not been spoken, covenient answer shall be giv'n. He begins again with Tumults; all demonstration of the Peoples Love and Loyalty to the Parliament was Tumult; their Petitioning, Tumult; their defensive Armies were but *listed Tumults*; and will take no notice that those about him, those in a time of Peace listed into his own House, were the

beginners of all these Tumults; Abusing and Assaulting not only such as came peaceably to the Parliament at *London*, but those that came Petitioners to the King himself at *York*. Neither did they abstain from doing violence and outrage to the Messengers sent from Parliament; he himself either countenancing, or conniving at them.

He supposes that *His Recess gave us confidence that he might be Conquer'd*. Other Men suppose both that, and all things else, who knew him neither by nature Warlike, nor Experienc'd, nor Fortunate; so far was any Man that discern'd ought, from esteeming him unconquerable; yet such are readiest to imbroil others.

But he had a Soul Invincible. What praise is that? The Stomach of a Child is oft-times Invincible to all Correction. The unteachable Man hath a Soul to all Reason and good Advice Invincible; and he who is intractable, he whom nothing can perswade, may boast himself Invincible; when as in some things to be overcome is more honest and laudable then to Conquer.

He labours to have it thought that *his fearing God more then Man* was the ground of his Sufferings; but he should have known that a good principle not rightly understood, may prove as hurtful as a bad; and his fear of God may be as faulty as a blind Zeal. He pretended to fear God more then the Parliament; who never urg'd him to do otherwise; he should also have fear'd God more then he did his Courtiers, and the Bishops who drew him, as they pleas'd, to things inconsistent with the fear of God. Thus boasted, *Saul* to have *perform'd the Commandment of God*, and stood in it against *Samuel*; but it was found at length that he had fear'd the People more then God,

God, in saving those fat Oxen for the Worship of God which were appointed for Destruction. Not much unlike, if not much worse, was that Fact of his, who for fear to displease his Court, and mungrel Clergy, with the dissoluteſt of the People, upheld in the Church of God, while his Power lasted, those Beasts of *Amalec*, the Prelats, against the Advice of his Parliament and the Example of all Reformation; in this more unexcusable then *Saul*, that *Saul* was at length convinc'd, he to the hour of Death fix'd in his false perswasion; and sooths himself in the flattering peice of an erroneous and obdurate Conscience; singing to his Soul vain Psalms of Exultation, as if the Parliament had assail'd his Reason with the force of Arms, and not he on the contrary their Reason with his Arms; which hath been prov'd already, and shall be more hereafter.

He twits them with *his Acts of Grace*; proud, and unself-knowing words in the Mouth of any King, who affects not to be a God, and such as ought to be as odious in the Ears of a Free Nation. For if they were unjusts Acts, why did he grant them as of grace? If just, it was not of his Grace, but of his Duty, and his Oath to grant them.

A glorious King he would be, though *by his Sufferings*: But that can never be to him whose Sufferings are his own doings. He fains *a hard choice* put upon him *either to kill his own Subjects, or be kill'd.* Yet never was King less in danger of any violence from his Subjects, till he unsheath'd his Sword against them; nay long after that time, when he had spilt the Blood of Thousands, they had still his Person in a foolish Veneration.

He complains, *That Civil War must be the Fruits of his Seventeen Years Reigning with such a measure of*

Justice, Peace, Plenty and Religion, as all Nations ther admir'd or envy'd. For the Justice we had, the Council Table, Star Chamber, High Co mission speak the praise of it; not forgetting unprincely Usage, and, as far as might be, the ab lishing of Parliaments, the displacing of hon Judges, the Sale of Offices, Bribery and Exact not found out to be punish'd, but to be shar'd with Impunity for the time to come. Who c number the Extortions, the Oppressions, the pub Robberies, and Rapines, committed on the Subj both by Sea and Land, under various Pretence Their Possessions also taken from them, one while Forest Land, another while as Crown Land; m were their Goods exempted, no not the Bullion the Mint; Piracy was become a project own'd a authoriz'd against the Subject.

For the Peace we had, what Peace was that whi drew out the *English* to a needless and dishonou able Voyage against the *Spaniard* at *Cales*? Or th which lent our Shipping to a Treacherous and A tichristian War against the Poor Protestants *Rochel* our Suppliants? What Peace was that whi fell to Rob the *French* by Sea, to the imbarring all our Merchants in that Kingdom? which brou forth that unblest Expedition to the Ile of Re doubtful whether more Calamitous in the Succ or in the Design, betraying all the flower of o military Youth, and best Commanders to a sham ful Surprisal and Execution. This was the Pea we had, and the Peace we gave, whether to Frien or to Foes abroad. And if at home any Pea were intended us, what meant those billeted Sol diers in all Parts of the Kingdom, and the Defi of *German* Horse, to subdue us in our peace Houses.

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For our Religion where was there a more Ignorant, Profane, and vitious Clergy, learned in nothing but the Antiquity of their Pride, their Covetousnes and Superstition; whose unsincere and levenous Doctrine corrupting the People, first Taught them Loosnes, then Bondage; loosning them from all sound Knowledge and Strictnes of Life, the more to fit them for the Bondage of Tyranny and Superstition. So that what was left us for other Nations not to pitty rather then admire or envy, all those Seventeen Years, no Wise Man could see. For Wealth and Plenty in a Land where Justice Reigns not, is no Argument of a flourishing State, but of a nearnes rather to Ruine or Commotion.

These were not *some miscarriages* only of Government, *which might escape*, but a Universal Distemper, and Reducement of Law to Arbitrary Power; not through the Evil Councils of *some Men* but through the constant Course and Practice of all that were in highest Favour: whose worst Actions he frequently avow'd and took upon himself, and whose Persons when he could no longer Protect, he esteem'd and favour'd to the end; but never otherwise then by constraint, yielded any of them to due Punishment; thereby manifesting that what they did was by his own Authority and Approbation.

Yet here he asks, *Whose innocent Blood he hath shed, what Widows or Orphans Tears can Witness against him*? After the suspected Poysoning of his Father, not inquir'd into, but smother'd up, and him protected, and advanc'd to the very half of his Kingdom, who was accus'd in Parliament to be Author of the Fact; after so many Years of Cruel War on his People in Three Kingdoms. Whence the Author of *Truths manifest*, a *Scotch* Man not unacquainted

acquainted with Affairs, positively affirms, *That there hath been more Christian Blood shed by the Commission, Approbation, and Connivance of King* Charles, *and his Father* James *in the latter end of their Reign, then in the Ten Roman Persecutions.* Not to speak of those many Whippings, Pillories, and other Corporal Inflictions wherewith his Reign also before this War was not unbloody; some have dy'd in Prison under Cruel Restraint, others in Banishment, whose Lives were shorten'd through the Rigour of that Persecution wherewith so many Years he infested the true Church. And those six Members all Men judg'd to have escap'd no less then Capital Danger; whom he so greedily pursuing into the House of Commons, had not there the forbearance to conceal how much it troubl'd him, *That the Birds were Flown.* If some Vulture in the Mountains could have open'd his Beak intelligibly and spoke, what fitter words could he have utter'd at the loss of his Prey? The Tyrant *Nero*, though not yet deserving that name, set his Hand so unwillingly to the Execution of a Condemned Person, as to wish, *He had not known Letters.* Certainly for a King himself to charge his Subjects with High Treason, and so vehemently to Prosecute them in his own Cause, as to do the Office of a Searcher, argu'd in him no great Aversation from shedding Blood, were it but *to satisfie his Anger*, and that Revenge was no unpleasing Morsel to him, whereof he himself thought not much to be so diligently his own Caterer. But we insist rather upon what was actual then what was probable.

He now falls to examin the Causes of this War, as a difficulty which he had long *studied* to find out: *It was not*, saith he, *my withdrawing from White-Hall, for no account in Reason could be giv'n of those Tumults,*

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where an orderly Guard was granted. But if it be a most certain truth that the Parliament could never yet obtain of him any Guard fit to be confided in, then by his own Confession some account of those pretended Tumults *may in Reason be given:* and both concerning them and the Guards enough hath been said already.

Whom did he protect against the Justice of Parliament? Whom did he not to his utmost Power? Endeavouring to have rescu'd *Strafford* from their Justice, though with the destruction of them and the City; to that end expressly commanding the admittance of new Souldiers into the *Tower*, rais'd by *Suckling* and other Conspirators, under pretence for the *Portugal*; not to repeat his other Plot of bringing up the two Armies. But what can be disputed with such a King in whose Mouth and Opinion the Parliament it self was never but a *Faction*, and their Justice no Justice, but *The Dictates and overswaying insolence of Tumults and Rabbles*; and under that excuse avouches himself openly the general Patron of most notorious Delinquents, and approves their flight out of the Land, whose Crimes were such, as that the justest and the fairest Tryal would have soonest Condemn'd them to Death. But did not *Catiline* plead in like manner against the *Roman* Senate and the Injustice of their Tryal, and the Justice of his flight from *Rome? Cæsar* also, then hatching Tyranny, injected the same scrupulous demurs to stop the Sentence of Death in full and free Senate decreed on *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* two of *Catalines* accomplices, which were renew'd and urg'd for *Strafford.* He vouchsafes to the Reformation by both Kingdoms intended, no better name then *Innovation and Ruine both in Church and State.* And what we would have learnt so gladly of him

in other Paſſages before, to know wherein, he tells us now of his own accord. The expelling of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, this was *Ruin to the State*, the *removing* them *Root and Branch*, this was *Ruine to the Church*. How happy could this Nation be in ſuch a Governour who counted that their Ruine, which they thought their Deliverance, the Ruine both of Church and State, which was the recovery and the ſaving of them both.

To the paſſing of thoſe Bills againſt Biſhops, how is it likely that the Houſe of Peers gave ſo hardly their conſent, which they gave ſo eaſily before to the attaching them of High Treaſon, in at once, only for proteſting that the Parliament could not act without them. Surely if their Rights and Priviledges were thought ſo undoubted in that Houſe, as is here maintain'd; then was that Proteſtation, being meant and intended in the name of their whole Spiritual Order, no Treaſon; and ſo that Houſe it ſelf will become liable to a juſt conſtruction either of Injuſtice in them for ſo cenſuring, or of Uſurpation, repreſenting none but themſelves, to expect that their voting or not voting ſhould obſtruct the Commons. Who not for *five Repulſes of the Lords*, no not for fifty, were to deſiſt from what in name of the whole Kingdom they demanded, ſo long as thoſe Lords were none of our Lords. And for the Bill againſt Root and Branch, though it paſs'd not in both Houſes till many of the Lords and ſome few of the Commons, either intic'd away by the King, or overaw'd by the Sence of their own Malignancy not prevailing, deſerted the Parliament: and made a fair riddance of themſelves, that was no Warrant for them who remain'd faithful, being far the greater number,

to

to lay aside that Bill of Root and Branch, till the return of their fugitives; a Bill so necessary and so much desir'd by themselves as well as by the People.

This was the *partiality*, this degrading of the Bishops, a thing so wholesom in the State, and so Orthodoxal in the Church both Ancient and reformed, which the King rather then assent to, *will either hazard both his own and the Kingdoms ruin*, by our just defence against his Force of Arms, or *prostrat our Consciences in a Blind Obedience to himself, and those Men whose superstition Zealous* or unzealous would inforce upon us an Antichristian Tyranny in the Church, neither *Primitive, Apostolical*, nor more *Anciently Universal*, then some other maniest corruptions.

But *he was bound besides his judgement by a most strict and undispensable Oath to preserve that Order and the Rights of the Church.* If he mean the Oath of his Coronation, and that the letter of that Oath admit not to be interpreted either by equity, Reformation, or better Knowledge, then was the King bound by that Oath to grant the Clergy all those Customs, Franchises, and Canonical Priviledges granted to them by *Edward* the Confessor; and so might one day, under pretence of that Oath, and his Conscience, have brought us all again to Popery. But had he so well remembred, as he ought, the words to which he swore, he might have found himself no otherwise oblig'd there, then *according to the Laws of God and true profession of the Gospel.* For if those following words, *Established in this Kingdom*, be set there to limit and lay Prescription on the Laws of God and Truth of the Gospel by Mans establishment, nothing can be more absur'd or more injurious

rious to Religion. So that however the *German* Emperors, or other Kings have levied all thoſe Wars on their Proteſtant Subjects under the colour of a Blind and Litteral Obſervance to an Oath, yet this King had leaſt pretence of all. Nor is it to be imagin'd, if what ſhall be Eſtabliſh'd come in queſtion, but that the Parliament ſhould overſway the King, and not he the Parliament. And by all Law and Reaſon that which the Parliament will not, is no more eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, neither is the King bound by Oath to uphold it as a thing eſtabliſh'd.

Had he gratified, he thinks, *their Antiepiſcopal Faction with his Conſent, and Sacrific'd the Church-Government and Revennues to the fury of their covetouſneſs, &c.* An Army had not been rais'd. Whereas it was the fury of his own hatred to the profeſſors of true Religion, which firſt incited him to Perſecute them with the Sword of War, when Whips, Pillories, Exiles, and Impriſonments were not thought ſufficient. To colour which, he cannot find wherewithal, but that ſtale pretence of *Charles* the fifth, and other Popiſh Kings, that the Proteſtants had only an intent to lay hands on the Church-revennues, a thing never in the thoughts of this Parliament, till exhauſted by his endleſs War upon them, their neceſſity ſeiz'd on that for the Common-wealth, which the luxury of Prelates had abus'd before to a common miſchief.

His conſent to the unlording of Biſhops (for to that he himſelf conſented, and at *Canterbury* the Cheif Seat of their Pride, ſo God would have it) *was from his firm perſwaſion of their contentedneſs to ſuffer a preſent diminution of their rights.* Can any Man, reading this, not diſcern the pure mockery of a Royal Conſent, to delude us only for *the preſent*

ſent, meaning, it ſeems, when time ſhould ſerve, to revoke all; By this reckning his conſents and his denials come all to one paſs: and we may hence perceive the wiſdom and the integrity of thoſe Votes which Voted his Conceſſions at the *Ile* of *Wight*, for grounds of a laſting Peace. This he alledges, this controverſie about Biſhops, *to be the true State* of that difference between him and the Parliament. For he held Epiſcopacy *both very Sacred and Divine*. With this judgement and for this cauſe he withdrew from the Parliament, and confeſſes that ſome Men knew *he was like to bring again the ſame judgement which he carried with him*. A fair and unexpected juſtification from his own mouth afforded to the Parliament, who notwithſtanding what they knew of his obſtinate mind, omitted not to uſe all thoſe means and that patience to have gain'd him.

As for Delinquents, *he allows them to be but the neceſſary conſequences of his and their withdrawing and defending*. A pretty ſhift to mince the name of a delinquent into a neceſſary conſequent: what is a Traitor but the neceſſary conſequence of his Treaſon, what a Rebel, but of his Rebellion? From this conceit he would infer a *pretext* only in the Parliament *to fetch in delinquents*, as if there had indeed been no ſuch cauſe, but all the delinquency in *London* tumults. Which is the overworn Theme, and ſtuffing of all his Diſcourſes.

This he thrice repeats to be the true State and Reaſon of all that War and Devaſtation in the Land, and that *of all the Treaties and Propoſitions* offerd him, he was reſolv'd *never to grant the aboliſhing of Epiſcopal, or the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government*. I would demand now of the *Scots* and Covenanteers (For ſo I call them as miſobſervers of the Covenant)

nant) how they will reconcile *the Preſervation of Religion and their Liberties, and the bringing of delinquents to condign puniſhment*, with the *Freedom, Honour and Safety* of this vow'd reſolution here, that eſteems all the Zeal of their proſtituted Covenant no better then *a noiſe and ſhew of Piety, a heat for Reformation, filling them with prejudice and obſtructing all equality and clearneſs of judgment in them.* With theſe Principles who knows but that at length he might have come to take the Covenant, as others, whom they Brotherly admit, have done before him; and then all, no doubt, had gone well, and ended in a happy peace.

His Prayer is moſt of it borrow'd out of *David*; but what if it be anſwered him as the *Jews*, who truſted in *Moſes*, were anſwer'd by our *Saviour*. There is one that accuſeth you, ev'n *David* whom you miſapply.

He tells God *that his Enemies are many*, but tells the People, when it ſerves his turn, they are but *a faction of ſome few, prevailing over the Major part of both Houſes.*

God knows he had no paſſion, deſign or preparation to imbroil his Kingdom in a Civil War. True; for he thought his Kingdom to be *Iſſachar* a *ſtrong Aſs that* would have *couch'd down between two burdens*, the one of prelatical ſuperſtition, the other of Civil Tyrany: but what paſſion and deſign, what cloſe and open preparation he had made, to ſubdue us to both theſe by terror and preventive force, all the Nation knows.

The *confidence of ſome Men had almoſt perſwaded him to ſuſpect his own innocence.* As the words of Saint *Paul* had almoſt perſwaded *Agrippa* to be a Chriſtian. But almoſt in the work of repentance is as good as Not at all.

God,

God, saith he, *will find out bloody and deceitful Men, many of whom have not liv'd out half their days.* It behoov'd him to have been more cautious how he tempted Gods finding out of Blood and Deceit, till his own Years had been further spent, or that he had enjoy'd longer *the Fruits of his* own *violent Counsels.*

But in stead of wariness, he adds another temptation, charging God *To know that the chief design of this War was either to destroy his Person or to force his judgement.* And thus his Prayer from the evil Practice of unjust accusing Men to God, arises to the hideous rashness of accusing God before Men to know that for Truth, which all Men know to be most false.

He Prays *That God would forgive the People, for they know not what they do.* It is an easie matter to say over what our Saviour said; but how he lov'd the People, other Arguments then affected sayings must demonstrate. He who so oft hath presum'd rashly to appeal the knowledge and testimony of God, in things so evidently untrue, may be doubted what belief or esteem he had of his forgiveness, either to himself, or those for whom he would so fain that Men should hear he pray'd.

X. *Upon their seizing the Magazins, Forts, &c.*

TO put the matter soonest out of controversie who was the first beginner of this Civil War, since the beginning of all War may be discern'd not only by the first Act of Hostility, but by the Counsels and preparations foregoing, it shall evidently

dently appear, that the King was ſtill formoſt in all theſe. No King had ever at his firſt coming to the Crown, more Love and Acclamation from a People; never any People found worſe requital of their Loyalty and good Affection: Firſt by his extraordinary fear and miſtruſt that their Liberties and Rights were the impairing and diminiſhing of his Regal Power, the true Original of Tyrany: Next by his hatred to all thoſe who were eſteem'd Religious; doubting that their Principles too much aſſerted Liberty. This was quickly ſeen by the vehemence, and the cauſes alledg'd of his Proſecuting, the other by his frequent and opprobrious diſſolution of Parliaments; after he had demanded more Money of them, and they to obtain their Rights had granted him, then would have bought the *Turk* out of *Morea*, and ſet free all the *Greeks*. But when he ſought to extort from us, by way of Tribute, that which had been offer'd him conditionally in Parliament, as by a a free People, and that thoſe extortions were now conſum'd and waſted by the luxury of his Court, he began then (for ſtill the more he did wrong, the more he fear'd) before any Tumult or inſurrection of the People, to take Counſel how he might Totally ſubdue them to his own Will. Then was the deſign of *German* Horſe, and Souldiers Billeted in all Parts, the Pulpits reſounded with no other Doctrin then that which gave all Property to the King, and paſſive Obedience to the Subject. After which, innumerable Forms and Shapes of new Exactions and Exacters overſpred the Land. Nor was it enough to be Impoveriſh'd, unleſs we were Diſarm'd. Our Train'd-Bands, which are the truſtieſt and moſt proper ſtrength of a Free Nation, had their Arms in divers Counties tak'n from them; other Ammunition

munition by deſign was ingroſs'd, and kept in the Tower, not to be bought without a Licenſe, and at a high rate.

Thus far, and many other ways were his Counſels and preparations before hand with us, either to a Civil War, if it ſhould happen, or to ſubdue us without a War, which is all one, until the raiſing of his two Armies againſt the *Scots*, and the latter of them rais'd to the moſt perfidious breaking of a Solemn Pacification.

After the beginning of this Parliament, whom he ſaw ſo reſolute and unanimous to relieve the Common-wealth, and that the Earl of *Strafford* was condemn'd to dye, other of his evil Counſellors impeach'd and Impriſon'd, to ſhew there wanted not evil Counſel within himſelf ſufficient to begin a War upon his Subjects, though no way by them provok'd, he ſends an Agent with Letters to the King of *Denmark* requiring Aid againſt the Parliament, endeavours to bring up both Armies, firſt the *Engliſh*, with whom 8000 *Iriſh* Papiſts rais'd by *Strafford*, and a *French* Army were to joyn; then the *Scots* at *Newcaſtle*, whom he thought to have encourag'd by telling them what Money and Horſe he was to have from *Denmark*. I mention not the *Iriſh* conſpiracy till due place. Theſe and many other were his Counſels toward a Civil War. His preparations, after thoſe two Armies were diſmiſs'd could not ſuddenly be too open: Nevertheleſs there were 8000 *Iriſh Papiſts* which he refus'd to disband, though intreated by both Houſes, firſt for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, next under pretence of lending them to the *Spaniard*; and ſo kept them undisbanded till very near the Month wherein that Rebellion broke forth. He was alſo raiſing Forces in *London*, pretendedly

tendedly to serve the *Portugal*, but with intent to seize the Tower. Into which diverse Cannon were by him sent; the Court was Fortifi'd with Ammunition, and Souldiers new Listed, who follow'd the King from *London*, and appear'd at *Kingston* some hundreds of Horse, in a Warlike manner, with Waggons of Ammunition after them; the Queen in *Holland* was buying more; the Inhabitants of *Yorkshire* and other Counties were call'd to Arms, and actual Forces rais'd; while the Parliament were yet Petitioning in Peace.

As to the Act of Hostility, though not much material in whom first it began, after such Counsels and Preparations discover'd, and so far Advanc'd by the King, yet in that Act also he will be found to have had precedency, if not at *London* by the assault of his Armed Court upon the Naked People, and his attempt upon the House of Commons, yet certainly at *Hull*, first by his close Practices on that Town, next by his Seige. Thus whether Councels, Preparations, or Acts of Hostility be considered, it appears with evidence enough, though much more might be said, that the King is truly charg'd to be the first beginner of these Civil Wars. To which may be added as a Close, that in the *Ile* of *Wight* he charg'd it upon himself, at the Public Treaty, and acquitted the Parliament.

But as for the securing of *Hull* and the Public Stores therein, and in other places, it was no *Surprisal of his strength*; the custody whereof by Authority of Parliament was committed into hands most fit, and most responsible for such a trust. It were a folly beyond ridiculous to count our selves a free Nation, if the King not in Parliament, but in his own Person and against them, might appropriate to himself the strength of a whole Nation as his proper goods.

What

What the Laws of the Land are, a Parliament should know beſt, having both the Life and Death of Laws in their Lawgiving Power: And the Law of *England* is at beſt but the reaſon of Parliament. The Parliament therefore taking into their hands that whereof moſt properly they ought to have the keeping, committed no ſurpriſal. If they prevented him, that argu'd not at all either *his innocency or unpreparedneſs*, but their timely foreſight to uſe prevention.

But what needed that? *They knew his chiefeſt Arms left him were thoſe only which the Ancient Chriſtian were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecuters, Prayers and Tears.* O Sacred Reverence of God, Reſpect and Shame of Men, whither were ye fled, when theſe hypocriſies were utter'd? Was the Kingdom then, at all that coſt of Blood to remove from him none but Prayers and Tears? What were thoſe thouſands of blaſpheming Cavaliers about him, whoſe mouths let fly Oaths and Curſes by the voley; were thoſe the Prayers? and thoſe Carouſes drunk to the confuſion of all things good or holy, did thoſe miniſter the Tears? Were they Prayers and Tears that were liſted at *York*, muſter'd on *Heworth* Moor, and laid Seige to *Hull* for the guard of his Perſon? Were Prayers and Tears at ſo high a rate in *Holland* that nothing could purchaſe them but the Crown Jewels? Yet they in *Holland* (ſuch word was ſent us) ſold them for Guns, Carabins, Mortar-peices, Cannons, and other deadly Inſtruments of War, which when they came to *York*, were all no doubt by the merit of ſome great Saint, ſuddenly transform'd into Prayers and Tears, and being divided into Regiments and Brigads were the only Arms that miſchiev'd us in all thoſe Battels and Incounters.

These were his chief Arms, whatever we must call them, and yet such Arms, as they who fought for the Common-wealth have by the help of better Prayers vanquish'd and brought to nothing.

He bewailes his want of the Militia, *Not so much in reference to his own Protection as the Peoples, whose many and sore oppressions grieve him.* Never considering how ill for Seventeen Years together he had Protected them, and that these miseries of the People are still his own handy work, having smitten them like a Forked Arrow so sore into the Kingdoms sides, as not to be drawn out and cur'd without the incision of more flesh.

He tells us that *what he wants in the hands of Power* he has in *the Wings of Faith and Prayer.* But they who made no reckoning of those Wings while they had that Power in their hands, may easily mistake the Wings of Faith for the Wings of Presumption, and so fall headlong.

We meet next with a comparison, how apt let them judge that have travel'd to *Mecca. That the Parliament have hung the Majesty of Kingship in an Airy imagination of regality between the Privileges of both Houses, like the Tomb of Mahomet.* He knew not that he was Prophecying the Death and Burial of a *Turkish* Tyranny, that spurn'd down those Laws, which gave it life and being so long as it endur'd to be a regulated Monarchy.

He counts it an injury *Not to have the sole power in himself to help or hurt any*; and that the *Militia which he holds to be his undoubted Right should be disposed as the Parliament thinks fit.* And yet confesses that if he had it in his actual disposing, he would defend those whom he calls *His good Subjects from those Mens violence and fraud, who would perswade the World that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with*

the

the cuſtody of the Shepheard and his Flock. Surely if we may gueſs whom he means here, by knowing whom he hath ever moſt oppos'd in this controvertſie, we may then aſſure our ſelves that by violence and fraud he means that which the Parliament hath done in ſettling the Militia, and thoſe the Wolves, into whoſe hands it was by them intruſted: Which draws a clear Confeſſion from his own mouth, that if the Parliament had left him Sole Power of the *Militia*, he would have us'd it to the deſtruction of them and their Friends.

As for Sole Power of the *Militia*, which he Claims as a Right no leſs undoubted then the Crown, it hath been oft enough told him, that he hath no more Authority over the Sword then over the Law; over the Law he hath none, either to eſtabliſh or to abrogate, to interpret, or to execute, but only by his Courts and in his Courts, whereof the Parliament is higheſt, no more therefore hath he Power of the *Militia* which is the Sword, either to uſe or to diſpoſe, but with Conſent of Parliament; give him but that, and as good give him all our Laws and Liberties. For if the Power of the Sword were any where ſeparate and undepending from the Power of Law, which is Originally ſeated in the Higheſt Court, then were that Power of the Sword Higher then the Power of Law, and being at one Mans diſpoſal, might, when he pleas'd, controul the Law, and enſlave us. Such Power as this did the King in op'n terms challenge to have over us; and brought thouſands to help him win it; ſo much more good at fighting then at underſtanding; as to perſwade themſelves that they fought then for the Subjects Liberty.

He is contented, becauſe he knows no other Remedy, to reſign this Power, *for his own time, but*

not for his ſucceſſors. So diligent and careful he is that we ſhould be ſlaves, if not to him, yet to his Poſterity, and fain would leave us the legacy of another War about it. But the Parliament have done well to remove that queſtion: whom as his manner is to dignify with ſome good name or other, he calls now *a many headed hydra of Government, full of factious deſtractions and not more Eyes then Mouths.* Yet ſurely not more Mouths, or not ſo wide, as the diſſolute rabble of all his Courtiers had, both Hees and Shees, if there were any Males among them.

He would prove that to govern by Parliament hath *a monſtroſity rather then perfection*; and grounds his Arguments upon two or three eminent abſurdities: Firſt by placing Counſel in the Senſes, next by turning the Senſe out of the head, and in lieu thereby placing Power *ſupream* above Senſe and Reaſon; which be now the greater Monſtroſities? Further to diſpute what kind of Government is beſt, would be a long Theme, it ſufficeth that his reaſons here for Monarchy are found weak and inconſiderable.

He bodes *much horror and bad influence after his Ecclips.* He ſpeaks his wiſhes: But they who by weighing prudently things paſt, forſee things to come, the beſt Divination, may hope rather all good ſucceſs and happineſs by removing that darkneſs which the Miſty Cloud of his Prerogative made between us and a peaceful Reformation, which is our true Sun light, and not he, though he would be tak'n for our ſun it ſelf. And wherefore ſhould we not hope to be Govern'd more happily without a King when as all our miſery and trouble hath been either by a King, or by our neceſſary vindication and defence againſt him.

He would be thought *inforc'd to Perjury* by having

ing granted the *Militia*, by which his Oath bound him to protect the People. If he can be perjur'd in granting that, why doth he refuse for no other cause the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy? But never was any Oath ſo Blind as to Swear him to protect Delinquents againſt Juſtice, but to protect all the People in that order, and by thoſe hands which the Parliament ſhould Adviſe him to, and the protected confide in; and not under the ſhew of protection to hold a violent and incommunicable Sword over us, as ready to be let fall upon our own Necks, as upon our Enemies; nor to make our own hands and Weapons fight againſt our own Liberties.

By his parting with the *Militia* he takes to himſelf much praiſe of his *aſſurance in Gods Protection*; and to the Parliament imputes the fear *of not daring to adventure the injuſtice of their Actions upon any other way of ſafety*. But wherefore came not this aſſurance of Gods Protection to him, till the *Militia* was wrung out of his hands, it ſhould ſeem by his holding it ſo faſt, that his own Actions and intentions had no leſs of injuſtice in them, then what he charges upon others; whom he terms *Chaldeans, Sabeans, and the Devil himſelf*. But *Job* us'd no ſuch *Militia* againſt thoſe Enemies, nor ſuch a Magazin as was at *Hull*, which this King ſo contended for, and made War upon us, that he might have wherewithal to make War againſt us.

He concludes, that *Although they take all from him yet can they not obſtruct his way to Heav'n*. It was no handſom occaſion, by faining obſtructions where they are not, to tell us whither he was going: he ſhould have ſhut the door, and pray'd in ſecret, not here in the High-Street. Private Prayers in public, ask ſomething of whom they ask not, and that ſhall be their reward.

XI. *Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions, &c.*

OF the Nineteen Propoſitions he names none in particular, neither ſhall the Anſwer. But he inſiſts upon the old Plea of *his Conſcience, Honour and Reaſon*; uſing the plauſibility of large and indefinite words, to defend himſelf at ſuch a diſtance as may hinder the eye of common judgement from all diſtinct View and Examination of his Reaſoning. *He would buy the Peace of his People at any rate ſave only the parting with his Conſcience and Honour.* Yet ſhews not how it can happen that the Peace of a People, if otherwiſe to be bought at any rate, ſhould be inconſiſtent or at variance with the Conſcience and Honour of a King. Till then, we may receive it for a better Sentence, that nothing ſhould be more agreeable to the Conſcience and Honour of a King, then to preſerve his Subjects in Peace; eſpecially from Civil War.

And which of the Propoſitions were *obtruded on him with the point of the Sword*, till he firſt with the point of the Sword thruſt from him both the Propoſitions and the Propounders? He never reck'ns thoſe violent and mercileſs obtruſions which for almoſt twenty years he had been forcing upon tender Conſciences by all ſorts of Perſecution; till through the multitude of them that were to ſuffer, it could no more be call'd a Perſecution, but a plain War. From which when firſt the *Scots*, then the *Engliſh* were conſtrain'd to defend themſelves, this their juſt defence is that which he calls here, *Their making War upon his Soul.* He

He grudges that *So many things are require'd of him, and nothing offer'd him in requital of those favour which he had granted.* What could ſatiat the deſires of this Man, who being King of *England*, and Maſter of almoſt two Millions Yearly, was ſtill in want; and thoſe Acts of Juſtice which he was to do in Duty, counts done as Favours; and ſuch favours as were not done without the avaritious hope of other rewards beſides the Supream Honour, and the conſtant Revenue of his place.

This Honour, he ſaith, *they did him to put him on the giving part.* And ſpake truer then he intended, it being meerly for Honours ſake that they did ſo; not that it belong'd to him of right. For what can he give to a Parliament who receives all he hath from the People, and for the Peoples good. Yet now he brings his own conditional rights to conteſt, and be preferr'd before the Peoples good, and yet unleſs it be in order to their good, he hath no rights at all; reigning by the Laws of the Land, not by his own; which Laws are in the hands of Parliament to change or abrogate as they ſhall ſee beſt for the Common-wealth; ev'n to the taking away of King-ſhip it ſelf, when it grows too Waſterful and Burd'nſom. For every Common-wealth is in general defin'd, a Society ſufficient of it ſelf, in all things conducible to well being and commodious Life. Any of which requiſit things if it cannot have without the Gift and Favour of a ſingle Perſon, or without leave of his private reaſon, or his conſcience, it cannot be thought ſufficient of it ſelf, and by conſequence no Common Wealth, nor free; but a multitude of Vaſſals in the Poſſeſſion and domain of one Abſolute Lord; and wholly obnoxious to his Will. If the King have Power to give or deny any thing to his Parliament,

he must do it either as a Person several from them or as one greater; neither of which will be allow'd him; not be consider'd severally from them; for as the King of *England*, can do no wrong, so neither can he do right but in his Courts and by his Courts; and what is legally done in them, shall be deem'd the Kings assent, though he as a several Person shall judge or endeavour the contrary. So that indeed without his Courts or against them, he is no King. If therefore he obtrude upon us any public mischief, or with-hold from us any general good, which is wrong in the highest degree, he must do it as a Tyrant, not as a King of *England*, by the known Maxims of our Law. Neither can he as one greater give ought to the Parliament which is not in their own Power, but he must be greater also then the Kingdom which they represent. So that to Honour him with the giving part was a meer Civility, and may be well term'd the courtesie of *England*, not the Kings due.

But the *incommunicable Jewel of his Conscience* he will not give, *but reserve to himself.* It seems that his Conscience was none of the Crown Jewels; for those we know were, in *Holland*, not incommunicable to buy Arms against his Subjects, Being therefore but a private Jewel, he could not have done a greater Pleasure to the Kingdom then by reserving it to himself. But he, contrary to what is here profess'd, would have his Conscience not an incommunicable, but an universal Conscience, the whole Kingdoms conscience. Thus what he seems to fear least we should ravish from him, is our chief complaint that he obtruded upon us; we never forc'd him to part with his conscience, but it was he that would have forc'd us to part with ours.

Some

Some things he taxes them to have offer'd him, *which while he had the maſtery of his Reaſon he would never conſent to.* Very likely, but had his Reaſon maſter'd him, as it ought, and not been maſter'd long ago by his Senſe and Humour (as the breeding of moſt Kings hath been ever ſenſual and moſt humour'd) perhaps he would have made no difficulty. Mean while at what a fine paſs is the Kingdom, that muſt depend in greateſt Exigencies upon the fantaſie of a Kings Reaſon, be he Wiſe or Fool, who arrogantly ſhall anſwer all the Wiſdom of the Land, that what they offer ſeems to him unreaſonable.

He prefers his *Love of Truth* before his Love of the People. His love of Truth would have led him to the ſearch of Truth, and have taught him not to lean ſo much upon his own Underſtanding. He met at firſt with Doctrines of unaccountable Prerogative; in them he reſted, becauſe they pleas'd him; they therefore pleas'd him becauſe they gave him all; and this he calls his love of Truth, and prefers it before the love of his Peoples Peace.

Some things they propos'd *which would have wounded the inward Peace of his Conſcience.* The more our Evil hap, that Three Kingdoms ſhould be thus peſter'd with one Conſcience; who chiefly ſcrupl'd to grant us that, which the Parliament advis'd him to, as the chief means of our public Welfare and Reformation. Theſe ſcruples to many perhaps ſeem pretended, to others, upon as good Grounds, may ſeem real; and that it was the juſt Judgment of God, that he who was ſo cruel and ſo remorceleſs to other Mens Conſciences, ſhould have a Conſcience within him as Cruel to himſelf; conſtraining him, as he conſtrain'd others, and inſnaring

him

him in ſuch Ways and Councils, as were certain to be his Deſtruction.

Other things though he could approve, yet in Honour and Policy he thought fit to deny, leſt he ſhould ſeem to dare deny nothing. By this means he will be ſure, what with Reaſon, Conſcience, Honour, Policy, or Puntilios, to be found never unfurniſht of a denyal: Whether it were his Envy, not to be overbounteous, or that the ſubmiſſneſs of our asking ſtir'd up in him a certain pleaſure of denying. Good Princes have thought it their chief Happineſs to be alway's Granting; if good things, for the things ſake; if things indifferent for the Peoples ſake, while this Man ſits calculating variety of Excuſes how he may grant leaſt; as if his whole Strength and Royalty were plac'd in a meer Negative.

Of one Propoſition eſpecially he laments him much, that they would bind him *to a general and implicit Conſent for whatever they deſir'd.* Which though I find not among the Nineteen, yet undoubtedly the Oath of his Coronation binds him to do leſs; neither is he at all by his Office to interpoſe againſt a Parliament in the making or not making of any Law; but to take that for juſt and good legally, which is there decreed, and to ſee it executed accordingly. Nor was he ſet over us to vie Wiſdom with his Parliament, but to be guided by them: *any of whom poſſibly* may as far excel him in the Gift of Wiſdom, as he them in Place and Dignity. But much nearer is it to impoſſibility that any King alone ſhould be Wiſer then all his Council; ſure enough it was not he, though no King ever before him ſo much contended to have it thought ſo. And if the Parliament ſo thought not, but deſir'd him to follow their Advice

and

and Deliberation in things of public Concernment, he accounts it the same Proposition, as if *Sampson* had been mov'd *to putting out his Eyes, that the Philistines might abuse him*; And thus out of an unwise, or pretended fear least others should make a scorn of him for yielding to his Parliament, he regards not to give cause of worse Suspition that he made a scorn of his Regal Oath.

But *to exclude him from all Power of denial seems an Arrogance*; in the Parliament he means; what in him then to deny against the Parliament? None at all, by what he argues: For *by Petitioning they confess their Inferiority and that obliges them to rest, if not satisfi'd, yet quieted with such an Answer as the Will and Reason of their Superior thinks fit to give.* First Petitioning, in better *English*, is no more then requesting or requiring, and Men require not favours only, but their due: and that not only from Superiors, but from Equals, and Inferiors also. The noblest *Romans*, when they stood for that which was a kind of Regal Honour, the Consulship, were wont in a submissive manner to go about and beg that highest Dignity of the meanest *Plebeians*, naming them Man by Man; which in their Tongue was call'd *Petitio Consulatus*. And the Parliament of *England* Petition'd the King, not because all of them were inferior to him, but because he was superior to any one of them, which they did of civil Custom, and for fashions sake, more then of Duty; for by plain Law cited before, the Parliament is his Superior.

But what Law in any Tryal or dispute enjoyns a Free Man to rest quieted, though not satisfi'd with the Will and Reason of his Superior? It were a mad Law that would subject Reason to Superiority of place. And if our highest Consultations and purpos'd Laws must be terminated by the Kings Will, then

then is the will of one Man our Law, and no subtlety of dispute can redeem the Parliament, and Nation from being Slaves: neither can any Tyrant require more then that his Will or Reason, though not satisfying, should yet be rested in, and determine all things. We may conclude therefore that when the Parliament Petition'd the King it was but meerly form, let it be as *foolish and absurd* as he pleases. It cannot certainly be so absur'd as what he requires, that the Parliament should confine their own and all the Kingdoms Reason to the Will of one Man because it was his hap to succeed his Father. For neither God nor the Laws have subjected us to his Will; nor set his Reason to be our Sovereign above Law (which must needs be, if he can strangle it in the Birth) but set his Person over us in the Sovereign Execution of such Laws as the Parliament Establish. The Parliament therefore without any Usurpation hath had it always in their Power to limit and confine the Exorbitancy of Kings whether they call it their Will, their Reason, or their Conscience.

But this above all was never expected, nor is to be endur'd, that a King who is bound by Law, and Oath to follow the Advice of his Parliament, should be permitted to except against them as *Young Statesmen*, and proudly to suspend his following their Advice, *until seven Years Experience had shewn him how well they could govern themselves.* Doubtless the Law never suppos'd so great an arrogance could be in one Man; that he whose Seventeen Years unexperience had almost ruin'd all, should sit another Seven Years School-master, to Tutor those who were sent by the whole Realm to be his Councellors and Teachers. And with what Modesty can he pretend to be a Statesman himself,

who

who with his Fathers King-craft and his own, did never that of his own accord which was not directly oppoſit to his profeſſed Intereſt both at home and abroad; diſcontenting and alienating his Subjects at home, weakening and deſerting his Confederates abroad, and with them the Common Cauſe of Religion. So that the whole courſe of his Reign by an example of his own furniſhing hath reſembled *Phaeton* more then *Phœbus*; and forc'd the Parliament to drive like *Jehu*; which *Omen* taken from his own Mouth, God hath not diverted.

And he on the otherſide might have remember'd that the Parliament ſit in that body, not *as his Subjects* but as his Superiors, call'd, not by him, but by the Law; not only twice every Year, but as oft as great Affairs require, *to be his Councellors and Dictators* though he ſtomac it, nor to be diſſolv'd at his pleaſure, but when all Grievances be firſt remov'd, all Petitions heard, and anſwer'd. This is not only Reaſon but the known Law of the Land.

When he heard that Propoſitions would be ſent him, he ſate conjecturing what they would propound, and becauſe they propounded what he expected not, he takes that to be a Warrant for his denying them. But what did he expect? he expected that the Parliament would reinforce *ſome old Laws*. But if thoſe Laws were not a ſufficient Remedy to all Grievances, nay were found to be Grievances themſelves, when did we looſe that other part of our Freedom to Eſtabliſh New? He thought *ſome Injuries done by himſelf and others to the Common-wealth were to be repair'd*. But how could that be, while he the chief Offender took upon him to be ſole Judge both of the Injury and the Reparation. *He ſaid till the advantage of his Crown conſider'd might*

induce

induce him to condescend to the Peoples Good. When as the Crown it self with all those Advantages were therefore giv'n him, that the Peoples good should be first consider'd; not bargain'd for, and bought by Inches with the bribe of more *Offertures* and Advantages to his Crown. He look'd *for moderate desires of due Reformation*; as if any such desires could be immoderate: He look'd for such a Reformation, *both in Church and State as might preserve* the Roots of every Grievance, and abuse in both still growing (which he calls *The Foundation and Essentials*) and would have only the Excrescences of Evil prun'd away for the present, as was plotted before, that they might grow fast enough between Triennial Parliaments, to hinder them by work enough besides, from ever striking at the Root. He alledges, *They should have had regard to the Laws in force, to the Wisdom and Piety of former Parliaments, to the Ancient and Universal Practice of Christian Churches.* As if they who come with full Authority to redress public Grievances, which oft-times are Laws themselves, were to have their Hands bound by Laws in force, or the Supposition of more Piety and Wisdom in their Ancestors, or the Practice of Churches heretofore, whose Fathers, notwithstanding all these Pretences, made as vast Alterations to free themselves from Ancient Popery. For all Antiquity that adds or varies from the Scripture, is no more warranted to our safe imitation then what was done the Age before at *Trent.* Nor was there need to have despair'd of what could be establish'd in Lieu of what was to be annull'd, having before his Eyes the Government of so many Churches beyond the Seas; whose pregnant and solid Reasons wrought so with the Parliament, as to desire a uniformity rather with all other Protestants, then to

be

be a Schism divided from them under a Conclave of Thirty Bishops, and a crew of irreligious Priests, that gapp'd for the same Preferment.

And whereas he blames those Propositions for not containing what they ought, what did they mention, but to vindicate and *Restore the Rights of Parliament Invaded* by Cabin Councils, the Courts of *Justice obstructed*, *and the Government* of Church Innovated and Corrupted? All these things he might easily have observ'd in them, which he affirms he could not find: but found *those demanding* in Parliament who were *look't upon before, as Factious in the State, and Schismatical in the Church; and demanding not only Tolerations for themselves in their Vanity, Novelty and Confusion, but also an Extirpation of that Government whose Rights they had a mind to Invade.* Was this Man ever likely to be advis'd, who with such a prejudice and disesteem sets himself against his chosen and appointed Counsellors; likely ever to admit of Reformation, who censures all the Government of other Protestant Churches, as bad as any Papist could have censur'd them? And what King had ever his whole Kingdom in such Contempt, so to wrong and dishonour the free Elections of his People, as to judge them whom the Nation thought worthiest to sit with him in Parliament, few else but such as were *punishable by the Laws*: yet knowing that time was, when to be a Protestant, to be a Christian was by Law as punishable as to be a Traytor, and that our Saviour himself coming to reform his Church, was accus'd of an intent to invade *Cæsars* Right, as good a Right as the Prelate Bishops ever had; the one being got by force, the other by spiritual Usurpation: and both by force upheld.

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He admires and falls into a extasie that the Parliament should send him such a *Horrid Proposition*, as the removal of Episcopacy. But expect from him in an extasie no other Reasons of his admiration then the Dream and Tautology of what he hath so oft repeated, Law, Antiquity, Ancestors, Prosperity and the like, which will be therefore not worth a second answer, but may pass with his own comparison *Into the common Sewer* of other Popish Arguments.

Had the two Houses Sew'd out their Livery from the Wardship of Tumults, he could sooner have believ'd them. It concern'd them first to Sue out their Livery from the unjust Wardship of his encroaching Prerogative. And had he also redeem'd his over-dated Minority from a Pupillage under Bishops, he would much less have mistrusted his Parliament; and never would have set so base a Character upon them as to count them no better then the Vassals of certain nameless Men whom he charges to be such as *Hunt after Faction with their Hounds the Tumults*. And yet the Bishops could have told him, that *Nimrod*. the first that hunted after Faction, is reputed, by Ancient Tradition, the first that founded Monarchy; whence it appears that to Hunt after Faction is more properly the Kings Game, and those Hounds, which he calls the Vulgar, have been oft'n hollow'd to from Court; of whom the mungrel sort have been entic'd; the rest have not lost their scent; but understood aright, that the Parliament had *that part to act* which he had fail'd in: that *trust to discharge*, which he had broken; that *Estate and Honour to preserve*, which was far beyond his, the Estate and Honour of the Common-wealth, which he had imbezl'd.

Yet so far doth Self-opinion or false Principles delude and transport him, as to think *the Concurrence of his Reason* to the Votes of Parliament, not only Political, but Natural, *and as necessary to the begetting*, or bringing forth any one *compleat Act of Publike Wisdom as the Sum influence is necessary to all Natural Productions*. So that the Parliament, it seems, is but a Female, and without his procreative Reason can produce no Law: Wisdom, it seems, to a King is Natural, to a Parliament not Natural, but by Conjunction with the King: yet he professes to hold his Kingly right by Law; and if no Law could be made but by the great Council of a Nation, which we now term a Parliament, then certainly it was a Parliament that first created Kings, and not only made Laws before a King was in being, but those Laws especially, whereby he holds his Crown. He ought then to have so thought of a Parliament, if he count it not Malea as of his Mother, which to Civil being created both him, and the Royalty he wore. And if it hath been anciently interpreted the presaging sign of a future Tyrant, but to dream of Copulation with his Mother, what can it be less then actual Tyranny to affirm waking, that the Parliament, which is his Mother, can neither conceive or bring forth *any Authoritative Act* with his Masculine Cotion: Nay that his Reason is as Celestial and Life-giving to the Parliament, as the Suns Influence is to the Earth: What other Notions but these, or such like, could swell up *Caligula* to think himself a God.

But to be rid of these mortifying Propositions he leaves no Tyrannical Evasion unassaid; first *that they are not the joint and free desires of both Houses or the major part*, next, *that the choice of many Members was carried on by Faction*. The former of these

is already discover'd to be an old Device put first in practice by *Charles* the Fifth since Reformation. Who when the Protestants of *Germany* for their own Defence join'd themselves in League, in his Declarations and Remonstrances laid the fault only upon some few (for it was dangerous to take notice of too many Enemies) and accus'd them that under colour of Religion they had a purpose to invade his and the Churches Right: by which Policy he deceiv'd many of the *German* Cities, and kept them divided from that League, until they saw themselves brought into a snare. That other cavil against the Peoples choice puts us in mind rather what the Court was wont to do, and how to tamper with Elections: neither was there at that time any Faction more potent, or more likely to do such a business, then they themselves who complain most.

But *he must chew such Morsels as Propositions are ere he let them down.* So let him; but if the Kingdom shall taste nothing but after his chewing, what does he make of the Kingdom, but a great Baby. *The straitness of his Conscience will not give him leave to swallow down such Camels of Sacrilege and Injustice as others do.* This is the Pharisee up and down, *I am not as other Men are.* But what Camels of Injustice he could devour, all his Three Realms were Witness, which was the cause that they almost perish'd for want of Parliaments. And he that will be unjust to Man, will be sacrilegious to God; and to bereave a Christian Conscience of Liberty for no other Reason then the narrowness of his own Conscience, is the most unjust measure to Man, and the worst Sacriledge to God. That other, which he calls Sacriledge, of taking from the Clergy that superfluous Wealth, which Antiquity

as old as *Constantine*, from the Credit of a Divine Vision, counted *Poyson in the Church*, hath been ever most oppos'd by Men whose Righteousness in other Matters have been least observ'd. He concludes, as his manner is, with high Commendation of his own *unbiass'd rectitude* and believes nothing to be in them that dissent from him, but Faction, Innovation, and particular Designs. Of these Repetitions I find no end, no not in his Prayer; which being founded upon deceitful Principles, and a fond hope that God will bless him in those *his Errors*, which he calls *Honest*, finds a fit answer of S. *James*; *Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss.* As for the truth and sincerity which he prays may be always found in those his Declarations to the People, the contrariety of his own Actions will bear eternal Witness how little careful or solicitous he was, what he promis'd, or what he utter'd there.

XII. *Upon the Rebellion in* Ireland.

THE Rebellion and Horrid Massacre of *English* Protestants in *Ireland*, to the number of 154000 by their own Computation, although *so sudden, and so violent*, as at first to amaze all Men that were not Accessary, yet from whom, and from what Councils it first sprung; neither was, nor could be possibly so Secret, as the Contrivers thereof blinded with vain hope, or the despair that others Plots would succeed, suppos'd. For it cannot be imaginable that the *Irish* guided by so many Scotch and *Italian* Heads of the Romish Party, should so far have left the use of Reason, and indeed of common Sense, as not supported with other Strength then their own, to begin a War so desperate and irreconcilable against both *England*

and *Scotland* at once. All other Nations, from whom they could expect Aid, were buſied to the utmoſt in their own moſt neceſſary Concernments. It remains then that either ſome Authority or ſome great Aſſiſtance promiſs'd them from *England*, was that whereon they chiefly truſted. And as it is not difficult to diſcern from what inducing cauſe this Inſurrection firſt aroſe, ſo neither was it *hard at firſt to have apply'd* ſome effectual *Remedy*, though not prevention. But the aſſurance which they had in private, that no Remedy ſhould be apply'd, was, it ſeems, one of the chief Reaſons that drew on their Undertaking.

Seeing then the main Incitement and Authority for this Rebellion muſt be needs deriv'd from *England*, it will be next inquir'd who was the prime Author. The King here denounces a Meledi&tion Temporal and Eternal, not ſimply to the Author, but to the *malitious Author* of this Blood-ſhed; and by that limitation may exempt, not himſelf only, but perhaps the *Iriſh* Rebels themſelves; who never will confeſs to God or Man that any Blood was ſhed by them malitiouſly; but either in the Catholic Cauſe, or common Liberty, or ſome other ſpecious Plea, which the Conſcience from grounds both good and evil uſually ſuggeſts to it ſelf: thereby thinking to elude the direct force of that imputation which lies upon them.

Yet he acknowledges, *It fell out as a moſt unhappy Advantage of ſome Mens Malice againſt him*: but indeed of moſt Mens juſt Suſpicion, by finding in it no ſuch wide departure or diſagreement from the ſcope of his former Councils and Proceedings. And that he himſelf was the Author of that Rebellion, he denies both here and elſewhere, with many Imprecations, but no ſolid Evidence: What on the other

other ſide againſt his denial hath been affirm'd in three Kingdoms being here briefly ſet in view, the Reader may ſo judge as he finds cauſe.

This is moſt certain, that the King was ever friendly to the *Iriſh* Papiſts, and in his Third Year, againſt the plain Advice of Parliament, like a kind of Pope, ſold them many Indulgencies for Money; and upon all Occaſions adviſing the Popiſh Party, and negotiating under hand by Prieſts who were made his Agents, ingag'd the *Iriſh* Papiſts in a War againſt the *Scotch* Proteſtants. To that end he furniſh'd them, and had them train'd in Arms; and kept them up the only Army in his Three Kingdoms, till the very burſt of that Rebellion. The Summer before that diſmal *October*, a Committee of moſt active Papiſts, all ſince in the Head of that Rebellion, were in great Favour at *White-Hall*; and admitted to many Private Conſultations with the King and Queen. And to make it evident that no mean Matters were the Subject of thoſe Conferences, at their Requeſt he gave away his peculiar Right to more then Five *Iriſh* Counties for the payment of an inconſiderable Rent. They departed not home till within two Months before the Rebellion; and were either from the firſt breaking out, or ſoon after, found to be the chief Rebels themſelves. But what ſhould move the King, beſides his own Inclination to Popery, and the prevalence of his Queen over him, to hold ſuch frequent and cloſe Meetings with a Commitee of *Iriſh* Papiſts in his own Houſe, while the Parliament of *England* ſate unadviſ'd with, is declar'd by a *Scotch* Author, and of it ſelf is clear enough. The Parliament at the beginning of that Summer, having put *Strafford* to Death, Impriſon'd others his chief Favourites, and driven the reſt to fly, the

King, who had in vain tempted both the *Scots* and the *English* Army to come up against the Parliament and City, finding no Compliance answerable to his hope from the Protestant Armies, betakes himself last to the *Irish*; who had in readiness an Army of Eight Thousand Papists, and a Committee here of the same Religion. And with them who thought the time now come to do Eminent Service for the Church of *Rome* against a Puritan Parliament, he concludes that so soon as both Armies in *England* should be disbanded, the *Irish* should appear in Arms, master all the Protestants, and help the King against his Parliament. And we need not doubt that those five Counties were given to the *Irish* for other Reason then the four Northern Counties had been a little before offer'd to the *Scots*. The King in *August* takes a Journey into *Scotland*; and overtaking the *Scots* Army then on their way home, attempts the second time to pervert them, but without Success. No sooner come into *Scotland*, but he lays a Plot, to saith the *Scotch* Author, to remove out of the way such of the Nobility there, as were most likely to withstand, or not to further his Designs. This being discover'd, he sends from his side one *Dilla* a Papist Lord, soon after a chief Rebel, with Letters into *Ireland*; and dispatches a Commission under the Great Seal of *Scotland* at that time in his own Custody, commanding that they should forthwith, as had been formerly agreed, cause all the *Irish* to rise in Arms. Who no sooner had receiv'd such Command, but obey'd; and began in Massacre, for they knew no other way to make sure the Protestants, which was commanded them expressly; and the way, it seems, left to their discretion. He who hath a mind to read the Commission

it ſelf, and ſound Reaſon added why it was not likely to be forg'd, beſides the Atteſtation of ſo many *Iriſh* themſelves, may have recourſe to a Book Intitled, *The Miſtery of Iniquity*.

After the Rebellion broken out, which in Words only he deteſted, but under hand favour'd and promoted by all the Offices of Friendſhip, Correſpondence, and what poſſible Aid he could afford them, the particulars whereof are too many to be inſerted here, I ſuppoſe no Underſtanding Man could longer doubt who was *Author or Inſtigator* of that Rebellion. If there be who yet doubt, I refer them eſpecially to that Declaration of *July*, 1643. Concerning this Matter. Againſt which Teſtimonies, Likelyhoods, Evidences, and apparent Actions of his own, being ſo abundant, the bare denial of one Man, though with Imprecation, cannot in any Reaſon Countervail.

As for the Commiſſion granted them, he thinks to evade that by retorting, that *ſome in* England *fight againſt him*, and yet *pretend his Authority*. But though a Parliament by the known Laws may affirm juſtly to have the Kings Authority, inſeperable from that Court, though divided from his Perſon, it is not credible that the *Iriſh* Rebels who ſo much tender'd his Perſon above his Authority, and were by him ſo well receiv'd at *Oxford*, would be ſo far from all Humanity as to ſlander him with a particular Commiſſion ſign'd and ſent them by his own Hand.

And of his good Affection to the Rebels this Chapter it ſelf is one without Witneſs. He holds them leſs in fault then the *Scots*, as from whom they might *alledge* to have fetch'd *their Imitation*; making no difference between Men that role neceſſarily to defend themſelves, which no Proteſtant

Doctrine ever disallow'd, against them who threatn'd War, and those who began a voluntary and causeless Rebellion with the Massacre of so many Thousands who never meant them harm.

He falls next to flashes, and a multitude of Words, in all which is contain'd no more, then what might be the Plea of any guiltiest Offender. He was not the Author because *he hath the greatest share of loss and dishonour by what is Committed.* Who is there that offends God or his Neighbour, on whom the greatest share of loss and dishonour, lights not in the end? But in the Act of doing Evil, Men use not to consider the event of their Evil doing: or if they do, have then no Power to curb the sway of their own Wickedness. So that the greatest share of loss and dishonour to happen upon themselves, is no Argument that they were not Guilty. This other is as weak, that *a Kings Interest* above that of any other Man, *lies chiefly in the common Welfare of his Subjects*; therefore no King will do ought against the common Welfare. For by this Evasion any Tyrant might as well Purge himself from the Guilt of raising Troubles or Commotions among the People, because undoubtedly his chief Interest lies in their sitting still.

I said but now that even this Chapter, if nothing else, might suffice to discover his good Affection to the Rebels; which in this that follows too notoriously appears, imputing this Insurrection to *the preposterous Rigor, and unreasonable Severity, the covetous Zeal and uncharitable Fury of some Men* (these *some Men* by his continual Paraphrase are meant the Parliament) and lastly, *to the Fear of utter Extirpation.* If the whole Iristry of Rebels had fee'd some Advocate to speak Partially and Sophistically in their Defence, he could have hardly

dazl'd

dar'd better: Yet nevertheleſs would have prov'd himſelf no other then a plauſible deceiver. And perhaps thoſe fained terrors and jealouſies were either by the King himſelf, or the Popiſh Prieſts which were ſent by him, put into the head of that inquiſitive People, on ſet purpoſe to engage them. For who had power *to oppreſs* them, or to relieve them being oppreſt, but the King or his immediate Deputy? This rather ſhould have made them riſe againſt the King then againſt the Parliament. Who threat'nd or ever thought of their extirpation, till they themſelves had begun it to the *Engliſh*? As for *prepoſterous rigour, covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury*; they had more reaſon to ſuſpect thoſe evils firſt from his own commands, whom they ſaw uſing daily no *greater argument* to prove *the truth* of his Religion then by *enduring no other but his own* Prelatical; and to force it upon others, made Epiſcopal, Ceremonial- and Common-Prayer-Book Wars. But the Papiſts underſtood him better then by the outſide; and knew that thoſe Wars were their Wars. Although if the Common-wealth ſhould be afraid to ſuppreſs op'n Idolatry, leaſt the Papiſts thereupon ſhould grow deſperate, this were to let them grow and become our Perſecuters, while we neglected what we might have done Evangelically, to their Reformers. Or to do as his Father *James* did, who in ſtead of taking heart and putting confidence in God by ſuch a deliverance as from the Powder Plot, though it went not off, yet with the meer conceit of it, as ſome obſerve, was hit into ſuch a *Hectic* trembling between Proteſtant and Papiſt all his life after, as that he never durſt from that time do otherwiſe then equivocate or collogue with the Pope and his adherents.

He

He would be thought to commiserat the sad effects of that Rebellion, and to lament that *the tears and blood spilt there did not quench the sparks of our civil* discord here. But who began these dissentions, and what can be more openly known then those retardings and delays which by himself were continually devis'd, to hinder and put back the relief of those distressed Protestants, whom he seems here to compassionate. The particulars are too well known to be recited, and too many.

But *he offer'd to go himself in Person upon that expedition*; and reck'ns up many surmises why he thinks they would not suffer him. But mention not that by his underdealing to debauch Armies here at home, and by his secret intercourse with the chief Rebels, long ere that time every where known, he had brought the Parliament into so just a diffidence of him, as that they durst not leave the Public Arms to his disposal, much less an Army to his conduct.

He concludes. *That next the sin of those who began that Rebellion theirs must needs be who hinder'd the suppressing, or diverted the aids.* But judgment rashly giv'n oft-times involves the Judge himself. He finds fault with those *who threat'ned all extremity to the Rebels*, and pleads much that mercy should be shown them. It seems he found himself not so much concern'd as those who had lost Fathers, Brothers, Wives and Children, by their cruelty; whom in justice to retaliate is not as he supposes *unevangelical*; so long as Magistracy and War is not laid down under the Gospel. If this his Sermon of affected mercy were not too Pharisaical, how could he permit himself to cause the slaughter of so many thousands here in *England* for meer Prerogatives, the Toys and Gewgaws of his Crown, for Copes

and

and Surplices, the Trinkets of his Priests, and not perceive his own zeal, while he taxes others, to be most preposterous and unevangelical. Neither is there the same cause to destroy a whole City for the ravishing of a Sister, not done out of Villany, and recompence offer'd by Marriage; nor the same case for those Disciples to summon fire from Heav'n upon the whole City where they were deny'd Lodging, and for a Nation by just War and Execution to slay whole Families of them who so barbarously had slain whole Families before. Did not all *Israel* do as much against the *Benjamits* for one Rape committed by a few, and defended by the whole Tribe, and did they not the same to *Jabesh-Gilead* for not assisting them in that revenge? I speak not this that such measure should be meeted rigorously to all the *Irish*, or as remembring that the Parliament ever so Decreed, but to shew that this his Homily hath more of craft and affectation in it, then of sound Doctrin.

But it was happy that his going into *Ireland* was not consented to: For either he had certainly turn'd his intended Forces against the Parliament it self, or not gone at all; or had he gone, what work he would have made there, his own following words declare.

He would have punisht some; no question; for some perhaps who were of least use, must of necessity have been sacrific'd to his reputation, *and the conveniency of his Affairs*. Others he *would have Disarm'd*, that is to say in his own time: but *all of them he would have protected from the fury of those that would have drown'd them, if they had refus'd to swim down the popular stream*. These expressions are too oft'n met, and too well understood for any Man to doubt his meaning. By the

fury,

fury of those, he means no other then the Justice of Parliament, to whom yet he had committed the whole business. Those who would have refus'd to swim down the popular stream, our constant Key tells us to be Papists, Prelates, and their Faction: these, by his own confession here, he would have protected against his Puritan Parliament: And by this who sees not that he and the *Irish* Rebels had but one aim, one and the same drift, and would have forthwith joyn'd in one body against us.

He goes on still in his tenderness of the *Irish* Rebels fearing least *our zeal should be more greedy to kill the Bear for his Skin then for any harm he hath done.* This either justifies the Rebels to have done no harm at all, or infers his opinion that the Parliament is more bloody and rapacious in the Prosecution of their Justice, then those Rebels were in the execution of their barbarous cruelty. Let Men doubt now and dispute to whom the King was a Friend most, to his *English* Parliament, or to his *Irish* Rebels.

With whom, that we may yet see further how much he was their Friend, after that the Parliament had brought them every where either to Famin, or a low condition, he, to give them all the respit and advantages they could desire, without Advice of Parliament, to whom he himself had committed the managing of that War, makes a Cessation; in pretence to relieve the Protestants, *overborn there with numbers*, but as the event prov'd, to support the Papists, by diverting and drawing over the *English* Army there, to his own service here against the Parliament. For that the Protestants were then on the winning hand, it must needs be plain; who notwithstanding the miss of those For-

ces which, at their Landing here, maſter'd without difficulty great part of *Wales* and *Cheſſhire*, yet made a ſhift to keep their own in *Ireland*. But the Plot of this *Iriſh* Truce is in good part diſcover'd in that Declaration of *September* 30*th*, 1643. And if the Proteſtants were but handfuls there, as he calls them, why did he ſtop and way-lay both by Land and Sea, to his utmoſt power, thoſe Proviſions and Supplies which were ſent by the Parliament? How were ſo many handfuls call'd over, as for a while ſtood him in no ſmall ſtead, and again our main Forces here in *England*.

Since therefore all the reaſons that can be giv'n of this Ceſſation appear ſo falſe and frivolous, it may be juſtly fear'd that the deſign it ſelf was moſt wicked and pernicious. What remains then? He *appeals to God*, and is caſt; lik'ning his puniſhments to *Jobs* Trials, before he ſaw them to have *Jobs* ending. He cannot ſtand *to make prolix Apologies*. Then ſurely thoſe long Pamphlets ſet out for Declarations and Remonſtrances in his Name, were none of his; and how they ſhould be his indeed, being ſo repugnant to the whole courſe of his Actions, augments the difficulty.

But he uſurps a common ſaying, *That it is Kingly to do well and hear ill.* That may be ſometimes true: but far more frequently, to do ill and hear well; ſo great is the multitude of Flatterers, and them that deſire the name of King.

Yet not content with theſe Neighbours, we have him ſtill a perpetual Preacher of his own vertues, and of that eſpecially which who knows not to be *Patience Perforce*.

He *believes it will at laſt appear that they who firſt began to embroyl his other Kingdoms, are alſo guilty of the Blood of Ireland.* And we believe ſo too; for

for now the Cessation is become a Peace by Published Articles, and Commission to bring them over against *England*, first only ten thousand by the Earl of *Glamorgan*, next all of them, if possible, under *Ormond*, which was the last of all his transaction done as a Public Person. And no wonder; for he lookt upon the blood spilt, whether of Subjects or of Rebels with an indifferent Eye, *as exhausted out of his own veins*; without distinguishing as he ought, which was good Blood and which corrupt; the not letting out whereof endangers the whole body.

And what the Doctrin is ye may perceive also by the Prayer, which after a short ejaculation for the *Poor Protestants*, Prays at large for the *Irish* Rebels, that God would not give them over, or *their Children to the covetousness, cruelty, fierce and cursed anger* of the Parliament.

He finishes with a deliberate and solemn curse *upon himself and his Fathers House*. Which how far God hath already brought to pass, is to the end that Men by so eminent an example should learn to tremble at his judgments; and not play with Imprecations.

XIII. *Upon the calling in of the* Scots *and their comming.*

IT must needs seem strange to Men who accustom themselves to ponder and contemplate things in their first Original and Institution, that Kings, who, as all other Officers of the Public, were at first chosn and inthron'd only

only by consent and suffrage of the People, to govern them as Freemen by Laws of their own framing, and to be, in consideration of that Dignity and Riches bestow'd upon them, the entrusted Servants of the Common-wealth, should notwithstanding grow up to that dishonest encroachment, as to esteem themselves Masters, both of that great trust which they serve, and of the People that entrusted them: counting what they ought to do both in discharge of their public duty, and for the great reward of honour and revenue which they receive, as done all of meer grace and favour; as if their power over us were by nature, and from themselves, or that God had sold us into their hands. This ignorance or wilful mistake of the whole matter, had tak'n so deep root in the imagination of this King, that whether to the *English* or to the *Scot*, mentioning what Acts of his Regal Office, though God knows how unwillingly, he had pass'd, he calls them, as in other places, *Acts of grace and bounty*; so here *special obligations, favours, to gratifie active Spirits, and the desires of that party.* Words not only sounding pride and Lordly Usurpation, but Injustice, Partiality, and Corruption. For to the *Irish* he so far condescended, as first to tolerate in private, then to covenant openly the tolerating of Popery: So far to the *Scot*, as to remove Bishops, establish Presbytery, and the *Militia* in their own hands; *preferring, as some thought, the desires of Scotland before his own Interest and Honour.* But being once on this side *Tweed*, his Reason, his Conscience, and his Honour became so streitn'd with a kind of false Virginity, that to the *English* neither one nor other of the same demands could be granted, wherewith the *Scots* were gratifi'd; as if our Air and Climate on

a sudden had chang'd the property and the name both of Conscience, Honour, and Reason, or that he found none so fit as *English* to be the Subjects of his Arbitrary Power. *Ireland* was as *Ephraim*, the strength of his head, *Scotland*, as *Judah*, was his Law-giver; but over *England* as over *Edom* he meant to cast his Shoe; and yet so many sober *English* Men not sufficiently awake to consider this, like Men Inchanted with the *Circean* cup of servitude, will not be held back from running their own heads into the Yoke of Bondage.

The sum of his discourse is against *settling of Religion by violent means*, which whether it were the *Scots* design upon *England*, they are best able to clear themselves. But this of all may seem strangest, that the King who, while it was permitted him, never did thing more eagerly then to molest and Persecute the Consciences of most Religious Men, he who had made a War and lost all, rather then not uphold a Hierarchy of Persecuting Bishops, should have the confidence here to Profess himself so much an Enemy of those that force the Conscience. For was it not he, who upon the *English* obtruded new Ceremonies, upon the *Scots* a new Liturgy, and with his Sword went about to engrave a bloody *Rubric* on their backs? Did he not forbid and hinder all effectual search of Truth, nay like a besieging Enemy stop'd all her passages both by Word and Writing? Yet here can talk of *fair and equal disputations*: Where notwithstanding, if all submit not to his judgement as not being *rationally convicted*, they must submit (and he conceals it not) to his *penalty* as counted *obstinate*. But what if he himself and those his *learned Churchmen*, were the convicted or the obstinate part long ago; should Reformation suffer them

them to ſit Lording over the Church in their Fat Biſhopricks and Pluralities, like the great Whore that ſitteth upon many Waters, till they would vouchſafe to be diſputed out? Or ſhould we ſit diſputing while they ſate Plotting and Perſecuting? Thoſe Clergy-men were not *to be driven into the fold like Sheep*, as his Simily runs, but to be driven out of the Fold like Wolves, or Thieves, where they ſate *Fleecing* thoſe Flocks which they never fed.

He believes, *that Presbytery though prov'd to be the only Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt were not by the Sword to be ſet up without his conſent*; which is contrary both to the Doctrine, and the known practice of all Proteſtant Churches; if his Sword threat'n thoſe who of their own accord imbrace it.

And although *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, being to Civil Affairs but private Men, contended not with Magiſtrates, yet when Magiſtrates themſelves and eſpecially Parliaments, who have greateſt Right to diſpoſe of the Civil Sword, come to know Religion, they ought in Conſcience to defend all thoſe who receive it willingly, againſt the violence of any King or Tyrant whatſoever. Neither is it therefore true; *That Chriſtianity is planted or watered with Chriſtian Blood*; for there is large difference betweeri forcing Men by the Sword to turn *Presbyterians*, and defending thoſe who willingly are ſo, from a furious inroad of bloody Biſhops, arm'd with the *Militia* of a King their Pupil. And if *Covetouſneſs and Ambition be an Argument that Presbytery hath not much of Chriſt*, it argues more ſtrongly againſt Epiſcopacy; which from the time of her firſt mounting to an order above the Presbyters, had no other Parents then Covetouſneſs and Ambition. And thoſe *Sects, Schiſms, and Hereſies*, which he ſpeak of, *if they get but ſtrength and numbers*, need

no other *Pattern* then Episcopacy and himself, to *set up their ways by the like Method of Violence.* Nor is there any thing that hath more Marks of Schism and Sectarism then *English* Episcopacy; whether we look at Apostolic times or at Reformed Churches; for the *Universal way of Church Government before*, may as soon lead us into gross Errors, as their Universally corrupted Doctrine. And Government by Reason of Ambition was likeliest to be corrupted much the sooner of the two. However nothing can be to us Catholic or Universal in Religion, but what the Scripture teaches; whatsoever without Scripture pleads to be Universal in the Church, in being Universal is but the more Schismatical. Much less can *particular Laws and Constitutions* impart to the Church of *England*, any Power of Consistory or Tribunal above other Churches, to be the sole Judge of what is Sect or Schism, as with much Rigor, and without Scripture they took upon them. Yet these the King resolves here to defend and maintain to his last, pretending, after all those Conferences offer'd, or had with him, not *to see more rational and religious Motives then Souldiers carry in their Knapsacks*; with one thus resolv'd it was but folly to stand disputing.

He imagins *his own judicious Zeal to be most concern'd in his tuition of the Church.* So thought *Saul* when he presum'd to offer Sacrifice; for which he lost his Kingdom; So thought *Uzziah* when he went into the Temple; but was thrust out with a Leprosie for his opinion'd Zeal, which he thought *judicious.* It is not the part of a King, because he ought to defend the Church, therefore to set himself Supream Head over the Church, or to meddle with Ecclesiastical Government, or to Defend the Church otherwise then the Church would be defended

fended; for ſuch defence is Bondage; not to defend Abuſes, and ſtop all Reformation under the name of *New Moulds fancy'd and faſhion'd to private Deſigns*. The Holy things of Church are in the Power of other Keys then were deliver'd to his keeping. Chriſtian liberty purchas'd with the Death of our Redeemer, and eſtabliſh'd by the ſending of his free Spirit to inhabit in us, is not now to depend upon the doubtful Conſent of any Earthly Monarch; nor to be again Fetter'd with a preſumptuous negative Voice, Tyrannical to the Parliament, but much more Tyrannical to the Church of God; which was compell'd to implore the Aid of Parliament, to remove his force and heavy Hands from off our Conſciences, who therefore complains now of that moſt juſt defenſive force, becauſe only it remov'd his Violence and Perſecution. If this be a Violation to his Conſcience, that it was hinder'd by the Parliament from violating the more tender Conſciences of ſo many thouſand good Chriſtians; let the uſurping Conſcience of all Tyrants be ever ſo violated.

He wonders, Fox wonder, how we could ſo much *diſtruſt God's Aſſiſtance*, as to call in the Proteſtant Aid of our Brethren in *Scotland*; why then did he, if his truſt were in God and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, not ſcruple to ſollicite and invite earneſtly the Aſſiſtance both of Papiſts and of *Iriſh* Rebels? If the *Scots* were by us at length ſent home, they were not call'd in to ſtay here always; neither was it for the Peoples eaſe to feed ſo many Legions, longer then their help was needful.

The Government of their Kirk we deſpis'd not, but their impoſing of that Government upon us; not Presbytery but Arch-Presbytery, *Claſſical, Provin-*

tial, and Dioceſan Presbytery, claiming to it ſelf a Lordly Power and Superintendency both over Flocks and Paſtors, over Perſons and Congregations no way their own. But theſe debates in his Judgment would have been ended better *by the beſt Divines in Chriſtendom in a full and free Synod.* A moſt improbable way, and ſuch as never yet was us'd, at leaſt with good Succeſs, by any Proteſtant Kingdom or State ſince the Reformation: Every true Church having wherewithal from Heaven, and the aſſiſting Spirit of Chriſt implor'd to be compleat and perfect within it ſelf. And, the whole Nation is not eaſily to be thought ſo raw, and ſo perpetually a Novice after all this Light, as to need the help and direction of other Nations, more then what they Write in public of their Opinion, in a Matter ſo familiar as Church Government.

In fine he *accuſes Piety* with the want of *Loyalty*, and *Religion* with the breach of *Allegiance*, as if God and he were one Maſter, whoſe Commands were ſo often contrary to the Commands of God. He would perſwade the *Scots* that their *chief Intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown.* But true Policy will teach them to find a ſafer Intereſt in the common Friendſhip of *England*, then in the Ruins of one ejected Family.

XIV. *Upon the Covenant.*

UPON this Theme his Diſcourſe is long, his Matter little but Repetition; and therefore ſoon anſwer'd. Firſt after an abuſive and ſtrange apprehenſion of Covenants, as if Men *pawn'd their Souls* to them with whom they Covenant, he digreſſes to plead for Biſhops; firſt from the Antiquity of their

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion here, ſince the firſt Plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iland, next from *a Univerſal Preſcription ſince the Apoſtles, till this laſt Century*. But what avails the moſt Primitive Antiquity againſt the plain Sence of Scripture; which if the laſt Century have beſt follow'd, ought in our Eſteem to be the firſt. And yet it hath been often prov'd by Learned Men, from the Writings and Epiſtles of moſt Ancient Chriſtians, that Epiſcopacy crept not up into an order above the Presbyters, till many Years after that the Apoſtles were deceas'd.

He next *is unſatisfy'd with the Covenant*, not only for *ſome paſſages in it referring to himſelf*, as he ſuppoſes, *with very dubious and dangerous Limitations*, but for binding Men *by Oath and Covenant*, to the Reformation of Church Diſcipline. Firſt thoſe limitations were not more dangerous to him, then he to our Liberty and Religion; next, that which was there vow'd, to caſt out of the Church an Antichriſtian Hierarchy which God had not planted, but Ambition and Corruption had brought in, and ſofter'd to the Churches great Dammage and Oppreſſion, was no point of *Controverſie* to be argued without end, but a thing of *clear Moral neceſſity* to be forthwith done. Neither was the *Covenant Superfluous*, though *former Engagements both Religious and Legal bound us before*: But was the practice of all Churches heretofore intending Reformation. All *Iſrael*, though bound enough before by the Law of *Moſes*, *to all neceſſary Duties*; yet with *Aſa* their King enter'd into a new Covenant at the beginning of a Reformation: And the *Jews* after Captivity, without conſent demanded of that King who was their Maſter, took ſolemn Oath to walk in the Commandments of God. All Proteſtant Churches have done the like, notwithſtand-

ng former Engagements to their ſeveral Duties. And although his aim were to ſow Variance between *the Proteſtation and the Covenant*, to reconcile them is not difficult. The Proteſtation was but one ſtep, extending only to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as it was diſtinct from Church Diſcipline; the Covenant went further, as it pleas'd God to diſpenſe his Light by degrees, and comprehended Church Government; Former with latter ſteps in the Progreſs of well doing need not reconcilement. Nevertheleſs he breaks through to his concluſion, *That all Honeſt and Wiſe Men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion*; leaving *Aſa*, *Ezra*, and the whole Church of God in ſundry Ages to ſhift for Honeſty and Wiſdom from ſome other then his Teſtimony. And although *after-contracts abſolve not* till the former be made void, yet he firſt having done that, our Duty returns back, which to him was neither *Moral nor Eternal*; but conditional.

Willing to perſwade himſelf that many *good Men* took the Covenant either unwarily, or out of fear, he ſeems to have beſtow'd ſome thoughts how theſe *good Men* following his Advice may keep the Covenant and not keep it. The firſt Evaſion is, preſuming *that the chief end of Covenanting in ſuch Mens Intentions was to preſerve Religion in Purity and the Kingdoms Peace*. But the Covenant will more truly inform them that Purity of Religion and the Kingdoms Peace was not then in State to be preſerv'd, but to be reſtor'd; and therefore binds them, not to a preſervation of what was, but to a Reformation of what was Evil, what was Traditional, and *dangerous*, whether *Novelty* or *Antiquity* in Church or State. To do this, claſhes with *no former Oath* lawfully ſworn either to God or the King, and rightly underſtood.

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In general he brands all *ſuch Confederations by League and Covenant, as the common rode us'd in all Factious perturbations of State and Church.* This kind of Language reflects with the ſame Ignominy upon all the Proteſtant Reformations that have been ſince *Luther*; and ſo indeed both his whole Book, repleniſh'd throughout with hardly other Words or Arguments then Papiſts, and eſpecially Popiſh Kings, have us'd heretofore againſt their Proteſtant Subjects; whom he would perſwade to be *every Man his own Pope and to abſolve himſelf of thoſe ties*, by the ſuggeſtion of falſe or equivocal Interpretations too oft repeated to be now anſwer'd.

The Parliament, he ſaith, *made their Covenant like* Manna *agreeable to every Mans Palat.* This is another of his gloſſes upon the Covenant; he is content to let it be *Manna*, but his drift is that Men ſhould loath it, or at leaſt expound it by their own *Reliſh*, and *latitude of Senſe*; wherein leaſt any one of the ſimpler ſort ſhould fail to be his Crafts Maſter, he furniſhes him with two or three Laxatives, he terms them *general Clauſes, which may ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them* againſt the Covenant mak'n: inſinuating, as if *what were lawful and according to the Word of God*, were no otherwiſe ſo, then as every Man fancy'd to himſelf. From ſuch Learned Explications and Reſolutions as theſe upon the Covenant, what marvel if no Royaliſt or Malignant refuſe to take it, as having learnt from theſe Princely Inſtructions, his many *Salvo's, Cautions, and Reſervations*, how to be a Covenanter and Anticovenanter, now at once to be a *Scot*, and an *Iriſh* Rebel.

He returns again to diſallow of *that Reformation which the Covenant vows, as being the partial Advice of a few Divines.* But Matters of this moment, as they were not to be decided there by by thoſe

Divines, so neither are they to be determin'd here by Essays and curtal Aphorisms, but by solid Proofs of Scripture.

The rest of his Discourse he spends, highly accusing the Parliament, *that the main Reformation by them intended was to Rob the Church*, and much applauding himself both for *his forwardness* to all due Reformation, and his averseness from all such kind of *Sacriledge*. All which, with his glorious Title of the *Churches Defender*, we leave him to make good, by *Pharaoh's Divinity*, if he please, for to *Josephs Piety* it will be a task unsuitable. As for *the Parity and Poverty of Ministers*, which he takes to be so sad of *Consequence*, the Scripture reckons them for two special Legacies left by our Saviour to his Disciples: under which two Primitive Nurses, for such they were indeed, the Church of God more truly flourisht then ever after, since the time that Imparity and Church Revenue rushing in, corrupted and beleper'd all the Clergy with a worse Infection then *Gehezi's*; some one of whose Tribe rather then a King, I should take to be compiler of that unsalted and simonical Prayer annex'd. Although the Prayer it self strongly prays against them. For never such holy things as he means, were *given* to more *Swine*, *nor the Churches bread* more to *Dogs*, then when it fed Ambitious, Irreligious and dumb Prelats.

XV. *Upon the many Jealousies*, &c.

TO wipe off Jealousies and Scandals, the best way had been by clear Actions, or till Actions could be clear'd, by evident Reasons; but sweet Words we are too well acquainted with. Had

his

his honour and reputation been dearer to him then the laſt of Reigning, how could the Parliament of either Nation have laid ſo oft'n at his door the breach of words, promiſes, Acts, Oaths, and execrations, as they do avowedly in many of their Petitions, and addreſſes to him: thither I remit the Reader. And who can believe that whole Parliaments elected by the People from all parts of the Land, ſhould meet in one mind and reſolution not to adviſe him, but to conſpire againſt him, in a worſe Powder Plot then *Catesbies, to blow up*, as he terms it, *the Peoples affection towards him, and batter down their Loyalty by the Engins of foul aſperſions*: Waterworks rather then Engins to Batter with, yet thoſe aſperſions were rais'd from the foulneſs of his own actions. Whereof to Purge himſelf, he uſes no other Argument, then a general and ſo oft'n iterated commendation of himſelf; and thinks that Court Holy-water hath the vertue of expiation; at leaſt with the ſilly People. To whom he familiarly imputes ſin where none is, to ſeem liberal of his *forgiveneſs* where none is ask'd or needed.

What ways he hath tak'n toward the proſperity of his People, which he would ſeem *ſo earneſtly to deſire*, if we do but once call to mind, it will be enough to teach us, looking on the ſmooth inſinuations here, that Tyrants are not more flatter'd by their Slaves, then forc'd to flatter others whom they fear.

For the Peoples *tranquillity he would willingly be the Jonah*; but leaſt he ſhould be tak'n at his word, pretends to foreſee within Kenn two imaginary *winds* never heard of in the Compaſs, which threaten, if he be caſt overboard, *to encreaſe the ſtorm*; but that controverſie, divine lot hath ended.

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He had rather not rule then that his People ſhould be ruin'd; and yet above theſe twenty years hath been ruining the People about the niceties of his ruling. He is accurate *to put a difference between the plague of malice*, and *the Ague of miſtakes*, *the Itch of Novelty*, *and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty*. But had he as well known how to diſtinguiſh between the venerable Gray hairs of Ancient Religion, and the old ſcurf of Superſtition, between the wholſome heat of well Governing, and the Fevorous rage of Tyrannizing, his judgment in State-phyſic, had been of more Authority.

Much he Propheſies, *that the Credit of thoſe Men who have caſt black ſcandals on him ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the ſame Furnace of popular obloquy wherein they ſought to caſt his Name and Honour*: I believe not that a Romiſh guilded Portraiture gives better Oracle then a Babyloniſh Golden Image could do, to tell us truely who heated that Furnace of obloquy, or who deſerves to be thrown in, *Nebuchadnezzar* or the three Kingdoms. It *gave him great cauſe to ſuſpect his own innocence* that he was oppos'd by *ſo many who profeſt ſingular Piety*. But this qualm was ſoon over, and he concluded rather to ſuſpect their Religion, then his own innocence, affirming that *many with him were both Learned and Religious above the ordinary ſize*. But if his Great Seal without the Parliament were not ſufficient to create Lords, his Parole muſt needs be far more unable to Create Learned and Religious Men; and who ſhall Authorize his unlearned judgment to point them out?

He gueſſes that *many well-minded Men were by popular Preachers urg'd to oppoſe him*. But the oppoſition undoubtedly proceeded and continues from heads far wiſer, and Spirits of a Nobler ſtrain; thoſe Prieſt-led *Herodians* with their blind guides are

in

in the Ditch already; traveling, as they thought, to *Sion*, but moor'd in the *Ile* of *Whight*.

He thanks God *for his constancy to the Protestant Religion both abroad and at home*. Abroad, his Letter to the Pope, at home, his Innovations in the Church will speak his constancy in Religion what it was, without further Credit to his vain boast.

His *using the Assistance of some Papists*, as the cause might be, could not hurt his Religion; but in the settling of Protestantism, their Aid was both unseemly and suspicious, and inferr'd that the greatest part of Protestants were against him and his obtruded settlement.

But this is strange indeed, that he should appear now teaching the Parliament, what no Man, till this was read, thought ever he had learnt, *that difference of perswasion in Religious matters may fall out where there is the sameness of Allegiance and Subjection.* If he thought so from the beginning, wherefore was there such compulsion us'd to the Puritans of *England*, and the whole Realm of *Scotland*, about conforming to a Liturgy? Wherefore no Bishop no King? Wherefore Episcopacy more agreeable to Monarchy, if different perswasions in Religion may agree in one Duty and Allegeance? Thus do Court Maxims like Court Minions rise or fall as the King pleases.

Not to Tax him for want of Elegance as a Courtier, in writing *Oglio* for *Olla* the *Spanish* Word, it might be be well affirm'd that there was a greater *Medley* and disproportioning of Religions to mix Papists with Protestants in a Religious Cause, then to entertain all those diversifi'd Sects, who yet were all Protestants, one Religion, though many Opinions.

Neither

Neither was it *any ſhame to Proteſtants*, that he *declar'd* Papiſt, if his own Letter to the Pope, not yet renounc'd, belye him not, found ſo few Proteſtants of his Religion, as enforc'd him to call in both the Counſel and the Aid of Papiſts to help eſtabliſh Proteſtancy, who were led on, not *by the Senſe of their Allegiance*, but by the hope of his Apoſtacy to *Rome*, from diſputing to warring; his own voluntary, and firſt appeal.

His hearkning to evil Counſellers, charg'd upon him ſo oft'n by the Parliament, he puts off as *a device of thoſe Men who were ſo eager to give him better Counſel*. That *thoſe Men* were the Parliament, and that he ought to have us'd the Counſel of none but thoſe, as a King, is already known. What their civility laid upon evil Counſellers, he himſelf moſt commonly own'd; but the event of thoſe evil Counſels, *the enormities*, *the confuſions*, *the miſeries* he transfers from the guilt of his own civil broiles to the juſt reſiſtance made by Parliament; and imputes what miſcarriages of his they could not yet remove for his oppoſing, as if they were ſome new miſdemeanors of their bringing in, and not the inveterate diſeaſes of his own bad Government; which, with a diſeaſe as bad, he falls again to magnifie and commend; and may all thoſe who would be govern'd by his *Retractions and Conceſſions*, rather then by Laws of Parliament, admire his ſelf *Excemium*, and be flatter'd with that *Crown of patience* to which he cunningly exhorted them, that his Monarchical foot might have the ſetting it upon their heads.

That truſt which the Parliament faithfully diſcharg'd in the aſſerting of our Liberties, he calls *another artifice to withdraw the People from him, to their deſigns*. What piece of Juſtice could they

have

have demanded for the People, which the jealousie of a King might not have miscall'd a design to disparage his Government; and to ingratiate themselves? To be more just, religious, wise, or magnanimous then the common sort, stirs up in a Tyrant both fear and envy; and streight he cries out popularity, which in his account is little less then Treason. The sum is, they thought to regulate and limit his negative voice, and share with him in the *Militia*, both or either of which he could not possibly hold without consent of the People, and not be absolutely a Tyrant. He professes *to desire no other liberty then what he envies not his Subjects according to Law*; yet fought with might and main against his Subjects to have a sole power over them in his hand, both against and beyond Law. As for the Philosophical Liberty which in vain he talks of, we may conclude him very ill train'd up in those free notions, who to civil Liberty was so injurious,

He calls the conscience *Gods Sovereignty*, why then doth he contest with God about that supream Title? Why did he *lay restraints*, and force enlargements upon our Consciences in things for which we were to answer God only and the Church? God bids us *Be subject for conscience sake*, that is as to a Magistrate, and in the Laws; not usurping over spiritual things, as *Lucifer* beyond his Sphere.

Finally having lay'd the fault of these Commotions, not upon his own misgovernment, but upon *the Ambition of others, the necessity of some Mens fortune, and thirst after Novelty*, he bodes himself *much honour and reputation that like the Sun shall rise and recover it self to such a splendour, as Owles, Bats, and such fatal Birds shall be unable to bear.* Poets indeed use to vapor much after this manner. But to bad

Kings,

Kings, who without cause expect future glory from their actions, it happ'ns as to bad Poets; who sit and starve themselves with a delusive hope to win immortality by their bad lines. For though Men ought not to *speak evil of Dignities* which are just, yet nothing hinders us to speak evil, as oft as it is the truth, of those who in their Dignities do evil; thus did our Saviour himself, *John* the Baptist, and *Steev'n* the Martyr. And those *black vailes* of his own misdeeds he might be sure would ever keep *his Face from shining*, till he could *refute evil speaking with well doing*, which grace he seems here to pray for; and his Prayer doubtless as it was pray'd, so it was heard. But even his Prayer is so ambitious of Prerogative, that it dares ask away the Prerogative of Christ himself, *To become the head stone of the Corner.*

XVI. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer Book.*

WHAT to think of Liturgies, both the Sense of Scripture, and Apostolical Practice would have taught him better, then his human reasonings and conjectures: Nevertheless what weight they have, let us consider. If it be *no news to have all innovations usher'd in with the name of Reformation*, sure it is less news to have all Reformation censur'd and oppos'd under the name of innovation; *by those* who being exalted in high places above their merit, fear all change though of things *never so* ill or so *unwisely* setl'd. *So hardly can the* dotage of those that dwell upon Antiquity *allow* present *times any share of Godliness or Wisdom.*

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The removing of Liturgy he traduces to be done only as a *thing plausible to the People*; whose rejection of it he lik'ns with small reverence to the *Crucifying* of our Saviour; next that it was done *to please those Men who gloried in their extemporary vain*, meaning the Ministers. For whom it will be best to answer, as was answer'd for the Man Born Blind, *They are of Age let them speak for themselves*; not how they came Blind, but whether it were Liturgy that held them Tongue-ty'd.

For the matter contain'd in that Book we need no better witness then King *Edward* the sixth, who to the *Cornish* Rebels confesses it was no other then the old Mass-Book done into *English*, all but some few words that were expung'd. And by this Argument which King *Edward* so promptly had to use against the irreligious Rabble, we may be assur'd it was the carnal fear of those Divines and Polititians that Modell'd the Liturgy no further off from the old Mass, least by too great an alteration they should incense the People, and be destitute of the same shifts to fly to, which they had taught the young King.

For the manner of using set Forms, there is no doubt but that, wholsome matter, and good desires rightly conceiv'd in the heart, wholsome words will follow of themselves. Neither can any true Christian find a reason why Liturgy should be at all admitted, a Prescription not impos'd or Practis'd by those first Founders of the Church, who alone had that Authority: Without whose precept or example, how constantly the Priest puts on his Crown and Surplice, so constantly doth his Prayer put on a servile Yoak of Liturgy. This is evident that they *who use no set Forms of Prayer*, have words from their affections; while others are to seek af-

fections

fections fit and proportionable to a certain dose of prepar'd words; which as they are not rigorously forbid to any Mans private infirmity, so to imprison and confine by force, into a Pinfold of set words, those two most unimprisonable things, our Prayers and that Divine Spirit of utterance that moves them, is a Tyranny that would have longer hands then those Giants who threat'nd Bondage to Heav'n. What *we may do* in the same form of words is not so much the question, as whether Liturgy may be forc'd, as he forc'd it. It is true that we *pray to the same God*, must we therefore always use the same words? Let us then use but one word; because we pray to one God. *We profess the same truths*, but the Liturgy comprehends not all truths: *we read the same Scriptures*; but never read that all those Sacred Expressions, all benefit and use of Scripture, as to Public Prayer, should be deny'd us, except what was Barrel'd up in a Common-Prayer-Book with many mixtures of their own, and which is worse, without Salt. But suppose them Savoury words and unmix'd, suppose them *Manna* it self, yet if they shall be hoarded up and enjoyn'd us, while God every Morning rains down new expressions into our Hearts, instead of being fit to use, they will be found like reserv'd *Manna*, *rather to breed worms and stink*. *We have the same duties upon us and feel the same wants*; yet not always the same, nor at all times alike; but with variety of Circumstances, which ask variety of words. Whereof God hath given us plenty; not to use so copiously upon all other occasions, and so niggardly to him alone in our Devotions. As if Christians were now in a worse famin of words fit for Prayer, then was of Food at the Scige of *Jerusalem*, when perhaps the Priests being to remove the shew-bread,

as was accuſtom'd, were compell'd every Sabbath-day, for want of other Loaves, to bring again ſtill the ſame. If *the Lords Prayer* had been the *Warrant or the Pattern of ſet Liturgies*, as is here affirm'd, why was neither that Prayer, nor any other ſet Form ever after us'd, or ſo much as mention'd by the Apoſtles, much leſs commended to our uſe? Why was their care wanting in a thing ſo uſeful to the Church? So full of Danger and Contention to be left undone by them to other Mens Penning, of whoſe Authority we could not be ſo certain? Why was this forgotten by them who declare that they have reveal'd to us the whole Council of God; who as he left our Affections to be guided by his ſanctifying Spirit, ſo did he likewiſe our Words to be put into us without our premeditation; not only thoſe cautious Words to be us'd before Gentiles and Tyrants, but much more thoſe filial Words, of which we have ſo frequent uſe in our acceſs with Freedom of Speech to the Throne of Grace. Which to lay aſide for other outward Dictates of Men, were to injure him and his perfect Gift, who is the Spirit, and the giver of our Ability to Pray; as if his Miniſtration were incompleat, and that to whom he gave Affections, he did not alſo afford utterance to make his Gift of Prayer a perfect Gift.

And although the Gift were only natural, yet voluntary Prayers *are leſs ſubject to formal and ſuperficial Tempers then ſet forms*: For in thoſe, at leaſt for Words and Matter, he who prays, muſt conſult firſt with his Heart; which in likelyhood may ſtir up his Affections; in theſe having both Words and Matter ready made to his Lips, which is enough to make up the outward Act of Prayer, his Affections grow lazy, and come not up eaſily at the call of Words not their own; the Prayer alſo having leſs

intercourſe and ſimpathy with heart wherein it was not conceiv'd, ſaves it ſelf the labour of ſo long a Journey downward, and flying up in haſt on the ſpecious Wings of Formality, if it fall not back again headlong, inſtead of a Prayer which was expected, preſents God with a ſet of ſtale and empty Words.

No doubt but *Oſtentation and Formality* may taint the beſt Duties: we are not therefore to leave Duties for no Duties, and to turn Prayer into a kind of Lurrey. Cannot unpremeditated babling be rebuk'd, and reſtrain'd in whom we find they are, but the Spirit of God muſt be forbidden in all Men? But it is the Cuſtom of bad Men and Hypocrites to take Advantage at the leaſt abuſe of good things, that under that covert they may remove the goodneſs of thoſe things, rather then the abuſe. And how unknowingly, how weakly is the uſing of ſet Forms attributed here to *Conſtancy*, as if it were conſtancy in the Cuckoe to be always in the ſame Liturgy.

Much leſs can it be lawful that an Engliſh Maſs Book, compos'd for ought we know, by Men neither *Learned*, nor *Godly. ſhould juſtle out*, or at any time *deprive* us the exerciſe of that Heavenly Gift, which God by ſpecial Promiſe powers out daily upon his Church, that is to ſay, the Spirit of Prayer. Whereof to help thoſe many Infirmities, which he reckons up, *Rudeneſs*, *Impertinence*, *Flatneſs*, and the like, we have a Remedy of Gods finding out, which is not Liturgy, but his own free Spirit. Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with ſighs unutterable by any Words, much leſs by a ſtinted Liturgy, dwelling in us makes interceſſion for us, according to the Mind and Will of God both in Private, and in the performane of all Eccleſiaſtical Duties. For it is his promiſe alſo, that where

two or three gather'd together in his name ſhall agree to ask him any thing, it ſhall be granted; for he is there in the midſt of them. If then Ancient Churches to Remedy the Infirmities of Prayer, or rather the Infections of the *Arian* and *Pelagian* Hereſies, neglecting that ordain'd and promis'd help of the Spirit, betook them almoſt four hundred Years after Chriſt to Liturgy their own Invention, we are not to imitate them; nor to diſtruſt God in the removal of that Truant help to our Devotion, which by him never was appointed. And what is ſaid of Liturgy is ſaid alſo of Directory, if it be impos'd: although to forbid the Service Book there be much more Reaſon, as being of it ſelf Superſtitious, Offenſive, and indeed, though Engliſh, yet ſtill the Maſs Book: and public Places ought to be provided of ſuch as need not the help of Liturgies or Directories continually, but are ſupported with Miniſterial Gifts anſwerable to their Calling.

Laſtly that the Common-Prayer Book was rejected becauſe it *pray'd ſo oft for him*, he had no Reaſon to Object: for what large and laborious Prayers were made for him in the Pulpits, if he never heard, 'tis doubtful they were never heard in Heaven. We might now have expected that his own following Prayer ſhould add much Credit to ſet Forms; but on the contrary we find the ſame Imperfections in it, as in moſt before, which he lays here upon Extemporal. Nor doth he ask of God to be directed whether Liturgies be lawful, but preſumes, and in a manner would perſwade him that they be ſo; praying *that the Church and he may never want them.* What could be pray'd worſe extempore.

XVII. *Of the differences in Point of Church Government.*

THE Government of Church by Biſhops hath been ſo fully prov'd from the Scriptures to be vitious and uſurp'd, that whether *out of Piety or Policy* maintain'd, it is not much material. For Piety grounded upon Error can no more juſtifie King *Charles*, then it did Queen *Mary*, in the ſight of God or Man. This however muſt not be let paſs without a ſerious Obſervation; God having ſo diſpos'd the Author in this Chapter as to confeſs and diſcover more of Myſtery and Combination between Tyranny and falſe Religion, then from any other hand would have been credible. Here we may ſee the very dark Roots of them both turn'd up, and how they twine and interweave one another in the Earth, though above ground ſhooting up in two ſever'd Branches. We may have learnt both from ſacred Story, and times of Reformation, that the Kings of this World have both ever hated, and inſtinctively fear'd the Church of God. Whether it be for that their Doctrine ſeems much to favour two things to them ſo dreadful, Liberty and Equality, or becauſe they are the Children of that Kingdom which, as Ancient Propheſies have fortold, ſhall in the end break to pieces and diſſolve all their great Power and Dominion. And thoſe Kings and Potentates who have ſtrove moſt to rid themſelves of this Fear, by cutting off or ſuppreſſing the true Church, have drawn upon themſelves the occaſion of their own Ruine, while they thought with moſt Policy to

prevent

prevent it. Thus *Pharaoh*, when once he began to fear and wax Jealous of the *Iſraelites*, leaſt they ſhould multiply and fight againſt him, and that his fear ſtirr'd him up to afflict and keep them under, as the only Remedy of what he fear'd, ſoon found that the Evil which before ſlept, came ſuddenly upon him, by the propoſterous way he took to prevent it. Paſſing by Examples between, and not ſhutting wilfully our Eyes, we may ſee the like ſtory brought to paſs in our own Land. This King more then any before him, except perhaps his Father, from his firſt entrance to the Crown, harbouring in his Mind a ſtrange Fear and Suſpicion of Men moſt Religious, and their Doctrine, which in his own Language he here acknowledges, terming *it the Seditious Exorbitancy* of Miniſters Tongues, and doubting *leaſt they*, as he not Chriſtianly expreſſes it, *ſhould with the Keys of Heav'n let out Peace and Loyalty from the Peoples Hearts*, though they never Preacht or attempted ought that might juſtly raiſe in him ſuch thoughts, he could not reſt, or think himſelf ſecure, ſo long as they remain'd in any of his Three Kingdoms unrooted out. But outwardly profeſſing the ſame Religion with them, he could not preſently uſe Violence as *Pharaoh* did, and that courſe had with others before but ill ſucceeded. He chooſes therefore a more myſtical way, a newer Method of Antichriſtian Fraud, to the Church more dangerous: and like to *Balac* the Son of *Zippor*, againſt a Nation of Prophets thinks it beſt to hire other eſteemed Prophets, and to undermine and wear out the true Church by a falſe Eccleſiaſtical Policy. To this drift he found the Government of Biſhops moſt ſerviceable; an order in the Church, as by Men firſt corrupted, ſo mutually corrupting them who receive it, both

in Judgment and Manners. He, by conferring Bishoprics and great Livings on whom he thought most pliant to his Will, against the known Canons and universal Practice of the Ancient Church, whereby those Elections were the Peoples Right, sought, as he confesses, to have *greatest Influence upon Churchmen*. They on the other side finding themselves in a high Dignity, neither founded by Scripture, nor allow'd by Reformation, nor supported by any Spiritual Gift or Grace of their own, knew it their best course to have dependance only upon him: and wrought his Fancy by degrees to that degenerate, and unkingly persuasion of *No Bishop, no King*. When as on the contrary all Prelates in their own subtle Sense are of another Mind; according to that of *Pius* the Fourth, remember'd in the History of *Trent*, that Bishops then grow to be most Vigorous and Potent, when Princes happen to be most weak, and impotent. Thus when both Interests of Tyranny and Episcopacy were incorporate into each other, the King whose principal Safety and Establishment consisted in the Righteous Execution of his Civil Power, and not in Bishops and their Wicked Counsels, fatally driven on, set himself to the removal of those Men whose Doctrine, and ill fire of Church Discipline he so fear'd would be the undoing of his Monarchy. And because no Temporal Law could touch the innocence of their Lives, he begins with the Persecution of their Consciences, laying Scandals before them: and makes that the Argument to inflict his unjust Penalties both on their Bodies and Estates. In this War against the Church if he hath sped so, as other haughty Monarchs whom God heretofore hath harden'd to the like Enterprize, we ought to look up with Praises and Thanksgiving to the Author of

of our Deliverance, to whom Victory and Power, Majesty, Honour, and Dominion belongs for ever.

In the mean while from his own Words we may perceive easily, that the special Motives which he had to endear and deprave his Judgment to the favouring and utmost defending of Episcopacy, are such as here we represent them: and how unwillingly and with what mental Reservation he condescended against his Interest to remove it out of the Peers House, hath been shown already. The Reasons, which he affirms wrought so much upon his Judgment, shall be so far answer'd as they be urg'd:

Scripture, he pretends, but produces none, and next the *constant Practice of all Christian Churches, till of late Years, Tumult, Faction, Pride, and Covetousness, invented new Models under the Title of Christs Government.* Could any Papist have spoke more scandalously against all Reformation? Well may the Parliament and best-affected People not now be troubl'd at his Calumnies and Reproaches, since he binds them in the same bundle with all other the Reformed Churches; who also may now further see, besides their own bitter Experience, what a Cordial and well meaning helper they had of him abroad, and how true to the Protestant Cause.

As for *Histories* to prove Bishops, the Bible, if we mean not to run into Errors, Vanities, and Uncertainties, must be our only History. Which informs us that the Apostles were not properly Bishops; next, that Bishops were not Successors of Apostles, in the Function of Apostleship: And that if they were Apostles, they could not be precisely Bishops; if Bishops, they could not be Apostles; this being Univerſal, Extraordinary, and Immedi-

ate from God; that being an ordinary, fixt and particular charge, and continual inſpection over a certain Flock. And although an *ignorance and deviation* of the Ancient Churches afterward, may with as much *Reaſon and Charity* be ſuppos'd as *ſudden* in Point of Prelacy, as in other manifeſt Corruptions, yet that *no example ſince the firſt Age for* 1500 *Years can be produc'd of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhops above them*, the Eccleſiaſtical Story, to which he appeals for want of Scripture, proves clearly to be a falſe and overconfident aſſertion. *Sozomenus* who wrote above twelve hundred Years ago, in his Seventh Book relates from his own Knowledge, that in the Churches of *Cyprus* and *Arabia* (places near to *Jeruſalem*, and with the firſt frequented by Apoſtles) they had Biſhops in every Village; and what could thoſe be more then Presbyters? The like he tells of other Nations; and that Epiſcopal Churches in thoſe days did not Condemn them. I add that many Weſtern Churches Eminent for their Faith and good Works, and ſettl'd above four hundred Years ago in *France*, in *Piemont* and *Bohemia*, hath both taught and practis'd the ſame Doctrine, and not admitted of Epiſcopacy among them. And if we may believe what the Papiſts themſelves have Written of theſe Churches, which they call *Waldenſes*, I find it in a Book Written almoſt four hundred Years ſince, and ſet forth in the *Bohemian* Hiſtory, that thoſe Churches in *Piemont* have held the ſame Doctrine and Government, ſince the time that *Conſtantine* with his miſchievous Donations poyſon'd *Silveſter* and the whole Church. Others affirm they have ſo continu'd there ſince the Apoſtles: and *Theodorus Belvedereſſis* in his Relation of them, confeſſeth that thoſe

Hereſies,

Heresies, as he names them, were, from the first times of Christianity, in that place. For the rest I refer me to that famous testimony of *Jerom*, whom upon that very place which he cites here, the Epistle to *Titus*, declares op'nly that Bishop and Presbyter were one and the same thing; till by the instigation of Satan, partialities grew up in the Church; and that Bishops rather by custom, then any ordainment of Christ, were exalted above Presbyters: whose interpretation we trust shall be receiv'd before this intricate stuff tattl'd here of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and I know not whom their Successors, far beyond Court Element, and as far beneath true Edification. These are his *fair grounds both from Scripture-Cannons and Ecclesiastical Examples*; how undivinlike writt'n, and how like a worldly Gospeller that understands nothing of these matters, posterity no doubt will be able to judge: and will but little regard what he calls *Apostolical*, who in his Letter to the Pope calls Apostolical the Roman Religion.

Nor let him think to plead, that therefore *it was not Policy of State*, or obstinacy in him which upheld Episcopacy, because the injuries and losses which he sustain'd by so doing, were to him *more considerable* then Episcopacy it self; for all this might *Pharaoh* have had to say in his excuse of detaining the *Israelites*; that his own and his Kingdoms safety so much endanger'd by his denial, was to him more dear, then all their building labours could be worth to *Ægypt*. But whom God hard'ns, them also he blinds.

He endeavours to make good Episcopacy not only in *Religion, but from the nature of all civil Government, where parity breeds confusion and faction.* But of faction and confusion, to take no other then his

own

own teſtimony, where hath more been ever beſt then under the imparity of his own Monarchical Government? Of which to make at this time longer diſpute, and from civil conſtitutions, and human conceits to debate and queſtion the convenience of Divine Ordinations, is neither Wiſdom nor Sobriety: and to confound *Moſaic Prieſthood* with Evangelic Presbytery againſt expreſs Inſtitution, is as far from warrantable. As little to purpoſe is it, that we ſhould ſtand powling the reformed Churches, whether they *equalize* in number *thoſe of his three Kingdoms*; of whom ſo lately the far greater part, what they have long deſir'd to do, have now quite thrown of Epiſcopacy.

Neither may we count it the Language or Religion of a Proteſtant, ſo to vilifie the beſt reformed Churches (for none of them but Lutherans retain Biſhops) as to fear more the *ſcandalizing* of Papiſts, becauſe more numerous, then of our Proteſtant Brethren becauſe a *handful*. It will not be worth the while to ſay what *Sciſmatics or Hereticks* have had no Biſhops; yet leaſt he ſhould be tak'n for a great Reader, he who prompted him, if he were a Doctor, might have remember'd the forementiond place in *Sozomenus*; which affirms that beſides the *Cyprians and Arabians* who were counted Orthodoxal, the *Novatians* alſo, and *Montaniſts* in *Phrygia* had no other Biſhops then ſuch as were in every Village: and what Presbyter hath a narrower Dioceſs? As for the *Arians* we know of no Heretical opinion juſtly father'd upon them, but that they held Biſhops and Presbyters to be the ſame. Which he in this place not obſcurely ſeems to hold a Hereſie in all the reformed Churches: with whom why the Church of *England* deſir'd conformity, he can find no reaſon with all his *charity*,

but

but the coming in of the Scots Army; Such a high eſteem he had of the *Engliſh*.

He tempts the Clergy to return back again to Biſhops, from the fear of *tenuity and contempt*, and the aſſurance of better *thriving under the Favour of Princes*; againſt which temptations if the Clergy cannot Arm themſelves with their own Spiritual Armour, they are indeed as *poor a Carkaſs* as he terms them.

Of Secular Honours and great Revenues added to the dignity of Prelates, ſince the ſubject of that queſtion is now remov'd, we need not ſpend time: But this perhaps will never be unſeaſonable to bear in mind out of *Chryſoſtome*, that when Miniſters came to have Lands, Houſes, Farms, Coaches, Horſes, and the like Lumber, then Religion brought forth Riches in the Church, and the Daughter devour'd the Mother.

But if his judgment in Epiſcopacy may be judg'd by the goodly choiſe he made of Biſhops, we need not much amuſe our ſelves with the conſideration of thoſe evils which, by his foretelling, will *neceſſarily follow* their pulling down, until he prove that the Apoſtles having no certain Dioceſs or appointed place of reſidence, were properly *Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters whom they ordain'd, or Churches they planted*; wherein oft-times their labours were both joynt and promiſcuous: Or that the Apoſtolic Power muſt *neceſſarily deſcend to Biſhops, the uſe and end* of either function being ſo different. And how the Church hath flouriſht under Epiſcopacy, let the multitude of their ancient and groſs Errors teſtifie; and the words of ſome learnedeſt and moſt zealous Biſhops among them; *Nazianzen* in a devout paſſion wiſhing Prelacy had never been; *Baſil* terming them the Slaves of Slaves, Saint *Martin*, the

the Enemies of Saints, and confeſſing that after he was made a Biſhop, he found much of that grace decay in him which he had before.

Concerning his *Coronation Oath* what it was, and how far it bound him, already hath been ſpok'n. This we may take for certain, that he was never ſworn to his own particular Conſcience and Reaſon, but to our conditions as a free People; which requir'd him to give us ſuch Laws as our ſelves ſhall chooſe. This the *Scots* could bring him to, and would not be baffl'd with the pretence of a Coronation Oath, after that Epiſcopacy had for many Years been ſettl'd there. Which conceſſion of his to them, and not to us, he ſeeks here to put off with evaſions that are ridiculous. And to omit no ſhifts, he alledges that the *Presbyterian* manners gave him no encouragement to like their *modes* of Government. If that were ſo, yet certainly thoſe Men are in moſt likelihood nearer to amendment, who ſeek a ſtricter Church Diſcipline then that of Epiſcopacy; under which the moſt of them learnt their manners. If eſtimation were to be made of Gods Law by their manners who, leaving *Ægypt*, receiv'd it in the Wilderneſs, it could reap from ſuch an inference as this, nothing but rejection and diſeſteem.

For the Prayer wherewith he cloſes, it had been good ſome ſafe Liturgy, which he ſo commends, had rather been in his way; it would perhaps in ſome meaſure have perform'd the end for which they ſay Liturgy was firſt invented; and have hinder'd him both here, and at other times from turning his notorious Errors into his Prayers.

Upon

XVIII. *Upon the* Uxbridge *Treaty*, &c.

IF *the way of Treaties be look'd upon* in general, *as a retiring* from Beſtial Force to human reaſon, his firſt Aphoriſm here is in part deceiv'd. For Men may Treat like Beaſts as well as fight. If ſome fighting were not Manlike, then either fortitude were no vertue, or no fortitude in fighting: And as Politicians oft-times through dilatory purpoſes, and emulation handle the matter, there hath been no where found more beſtiality then in treating: which hath no more commendation in it, then from fighting to come to undermining, from violence to craft, and when they can no longer do as Lions, to do as Foxes.

The ſincereſt end of Treating after War once Proclaim'd, is either to part with more, or to demand leſs then was at firſt fought for, rather then to hazzard more lives, or worſe miſchiefs. What the Parliament in that point were willing to have done, when firſt after the War begun, they Petition'd him at *Colebrook* to vouchſafe a Treaty, is unknown. For after he had tak'n God to witneſs of his continual readineſs to Treat, or to offer Treaties to the avoiding of Bloodſhed, taking the advantage of a Miſt, the fitteſt weather for deceit and treachery, he follows at the heels thoſe Meſſengers of Peace with a train of covert War: and with a Bloody ſurpriſe falls on our ſecure Forces which lay Quartering at *Brentford* in the thoughts and expectation of a Treaty. And although in them who make a Trade of War, and againſt a natural

natural Enemy, ſuch an onſet might in the rigor of Martial Law have been excus'd, while Arms were not yet by Agreement ſuſpended, yet by a King, who ſeem'd ſo heartily to accept of treating, and profeſſes here, *He never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it*, profeſſes *to have greater confidence in his Reaſon, then in his Sword, and as a Chriſtian to ſeek Peace and enſue it*, ſuch bloody and deceitful advantages would have been forborn one day at leaſt, if not much longer; in whom there had not been a thirſt rather then a deteſtation of Civil War and Blood.

In the midſt of a ſecond Treaty not long after, ſought by the Parliament, and after much ado obtain'd with him at *Oxford*, what ſuttle and unpeaceable deſigns he then had in chace, his own Letters diſcover'd: What attempts of treacherous hoſtility ſucceſsful and unſucceſsful he made againſt *Briſtow*, *Scarborow*, and other places, the proceedings of that Treaty will ſoon put us in mind; and how he was ſo far from granting more of reaſon, after ſo much of Blood, that he deny'd then to grant, what before he had offer'd; making no other uſe of Treaties pretending Peace, then to gain advantages that might enable him to continue War. What marvel then if *he thought it no diminution of himſelf*, as oft as he ſaw his time, *to be importunate for Treaties*, when he ſought them only, as by the upſhot appear'd, *to get opportunities*.

But he infers, as if the Parliament would have compell'd him *to part with* ſomthing of *his honour as a King*. What honour could he have, or call his, joyn'd, not only with the offence or diſturbance, but with the Bondage and Deſtruction of three Nations; whereof though he be careleſs and improvi-

dent

vident, yet the Parliament, by our Laws and Freedom, ought to judge, and uſe prevention; our Laws elſe were but Cobweb-Laws. And what were all his moſt rightful honours, but the Peoples gift, and the inveſtment of that Luſtre, Majeſty and Honour, which for the public good and no otherwiſe, redounds from a whole Nation into one Perſon? So far is any honour from being his to a common miſchief and calamity. Yet ſtill he talks on equal terms with the grand Repreſentative of that People, for whoſe ſake he was a King, as if the general welfare, and his ſubſervient Rights were of equal moment, or conſideration. His aim indeed hath ever been to magnifie and exhalt his borrow'd Rights and Prerogatives, above the Parliament and Kingdom of whom he holds them. But when a King ſets himſelf to bandy againſt the Higheſt Court and Reſidence of his Regal Authority, he then, in the ſingle Perſon of a Man, fights againſt his own Majeſty and Kingſhip, and then indeed ſets the firſt hand to his own depoſing.

The Treaty at Uxbridge, he ſaith, *gave the faireſt hopes of a happy compoſure*, faireſt indeed, if his inſtructions to bribe our Commiſſioners with the promiſe of *Security*, *Rewards* and *Places*, were fair: What other hopes it gave, no Man can tell. There being but three main heads whereon to be treated, *Ireland*, *Epiſcopacy*, and the *Militia*, the firſt was anticipated and foreſtall'd by a Peace at any rate to be ſtruck with the *Iriſh* Rebels, 'ere the Treaty could begin; that he might pretend his word and honour paſt againſt *the ſpecious and popular Arguments* (he calls them no better) which the Parliament would urge upon him for the continuance of that juſt War. Epiſcopacy he bids the Queen be confident he will never quit: which informs us

by

by what Patronage it ſtood: and the Sword he reſolves to clutch as faſt, as if God with his own hand had put it into his. This was the *moderation which he brought*; this was *as far as Reaſon, Honour, Conſcience*, and the Queen who was his Regent in all theſe, *would give him leave*. Laſtly for *compoſure*, inſtead of *happy*, how miſerable it was more likely to have been Wiſe Men could then judge; when the *Engliſh*, during Treaty, were call'd Rebels, the *Iriſh*, good and Catholic Subjects; and the Parliament before hand, though for Faſhions ſake call'd a Parliament, yet by a Jeſuitical ſlight not acknowledg'd though call'd ſo; but privately in the Counſel Books inroll'd no Parliament: that if accommodation had ſucceeded upon what terms ſoever, ſuch a deviliſh fraud was prepar'd, that the King in his own eſteem had been abſolv'd from all performance, as having treated with Rebels and no Parliament; and they on the other ſide inſtead of an expected happineſs, had been brought under the Hatchet. Then no doubt *War had ended*, that Maſſacer and Tyranny might begin. Theſe *jealouſies* however *rais'd*, let all Men ſee whether they be diminiſh'd or *allay'd*, by the Letters of his own Cabinet op'nd. And yet the Breach of his Treaty is laid all upon the Parliament and their Commiſſioners, with odious Names of *Pertinacy, hatred of Peace, Faction, and Covetouſneſs*, nay his own Brat *Superſtition* is laid to their charge; notwithſtanding his here profeſs'd reſolution to continue both the *Order, Maintenance, and Authority* of Prelates, as a truth of God.

And who *were moſt to blame in the unſucceſsfulneſs of that Treaty*, his Appeal is to Gods deciſion: *believing* to be *very excuſable* at that Tribunal. But if ever man *gloried in an unflexible ſtiffneſs*, he came

not behind any: and that *grand Maxim*, always to put ſomething into his Treaties, which might give *Colour* to refuſe all that was in other things granted, and to make them *ſignifie nothing*, was his own principal Maxim, and particular Inſtructions to his Commiſſioners. Yet all, by his own verdict, muſt be conſtru'd *Reaſon* in the King, and *depraved Temper* in the Parliament.

That the *higheſt Tide of Succeſs*, with theſe Principles and Deſigns, *ſet him not above a Treaty*, no great wonder. But that his *loweſt Ebb* could not be *lower then a Fight*, was a preſumption that ruin'd him.

He preſag'd the future *unſucceſfulneſs of Treaties by the unwillingneſs of ſome Men to treat*: and could not ſee what was preſent; that their unwillingneſs had good Cauſe to proceed from the continual Experience of his own Obſtinacy and breach of Word.

His Prayer therefore of *Forgiveneſs* to the guilty of *that Treaties breaking*, he had good Reaſon to ſay heartily over; as including no Man in that guilt ſooner then himſelf.

As for that Proteſtation following in his Prayer, *How oft have I entreated for Peace, but when I ſpeak thereof, they make them ready to War*, unleſs he thought himſelf ſtill in that perfidious miſt, between *Colebrook* and *Houndſlow*, and thought that miſt could hide him from the Eye of Heaven as well as of a Man, after ſuch a bloody recompence giv'n to our firſt offers of Peace, how could this in the ſight of Heaven without Horrors of Conſcience be utter'd?

XIX. *Upon the various Events of the War.*

IT is no new, or unwonted thing for bad Men to claim as much part in God as his beſt Servants; to uſurp and imitate their Words, and appropriate to themſelves thoſe Properties which belong only to the Good and Righteous. This not only in Scripture is familiarly to be found, but here alſo in this Chapter of *Apocrypha*. He tells us much, why *it pleas'd God* to ſend him Victory or Loſs (although what in ſo doing was the intent of God, he might be much miſtaken as to his own particular) but we are yet to learn what real good uſe he made thereof in his Practice.

Thoſe numbers which he grew to *from ſmall beginnings*, were not ſuch as out of love came to protect him, for none approv'd his Actions as a King, except Courtiers and Prelates, but were ſuch as fled to be protected by him from the fear of that Reformation which the Pravity of their Lives would not bear. Such a Snow-ball he might eaſily gather by rowling through thoſe cold and dark Provinces of Ignorance and Leudneſs, where on a ſuddain he became ſo numerous. He imputes that to God *Protection*, which, to them who perſiſt in a bad Cauſe, is either his long-ſuffering, or his hardenings; and that to wholeſom *Chaſtiſement*, which were the gradual Beginnings of a ſevere Puniſhment. For if neither God nor Nature but Civil Power in the hands of any whomſoever, but to a lawful End, and commands our Obedience to the Author-

ty of Law only, not the Tyrannical Force of any Perſon, and if the Laws of our Land have plac'd the Sword in no Mans ſingle Hand; ſo much as to unſheath againſt a Foreign Enemy, much leſs upon the Native People, but have plac'd it in that elective Body of the Parliament, to whom the making, repealing, judging, and interpreting of Law it ſelf was alſo committed, as was fitteſt, ſo long as we intended to be a free Nation, and not the Slaves of one Mans Will, then was the King himſelf Diſobedient and Rebellious to that Law by which he Reign'd; and by Authority of Parliament to raiſe Arms againſt him in Defence of Law and Liberty, we do not only *think*, but believe and know was juſtifiable both *by the Word of God, the Laws of the Land, and all lawful Oaths*; and they who ſided with him fought againſt all theſe.

The ſame Allegations, which he uſes for himſelf and his Party, may as well fit any Tyrant in the World: for let the Parliament be call'd a Faction when the King pleaſes, and that no Law muſt be made or chang'd either Civil or Religious, becauſe no Law will content *all ſides*, then muſt be made or chang'd no Law at all; but what a Tyrant, be he Proteſtant or Papiſt, thinks fit. Which Tyrannous Aſſertion forc'd upon us by the Sword, he who fights againſt, and dyes fighting, if his other Sins overweigh not, dyes a *Martyr* undoubtedly both of the Faith and of the Common-wealth: and I hold it not as the Opinion, but as the full belief and perſwaſion of far holyer and wiſer Men then *Paraſitic Preachers*. Who, without their Dinner-Doctrine, know that neither *King, Law, Civil Oaths, or Religion*, was ever *eſtabliſh'd* without the Parliament: and their Power is the ſame to Abrogate as to Eſtabliſh: neither is any thing to be thought *eſtabliſh'd*

ſtabliſh'd which that Houſe declares to be aboliſht. Where the Parliament ſits, there inſeparably ſits the King, there the Laws, there our Oaths, and whatſoever can be civil in Religion. They who fought for the Parliament, in the trueſt Senſe fought for all theſe; who fought for the King divided from his Parliament, fought for the Shadow of a King againſt all theſe; and for things that were not, as if they were *Eſtabliſht*. It were a thing monſtrouſly abſurd and contradictory to give the Parliament a Legiſlative Power, and then to upbraid them for tranſgreſſing old Eſtabliſhments.

But the King and his Party having loſt in this Quarrel their Heaven upon Earth, begin to make great reckoning of *Eternal Life*, and at an eaſie rate *in forma Pauperis* Canonize one another into Heaven; he them in his Book, they him in the Portracture before his Book: but, as was ſay'd before, Stage-work will not do it; much leſs *the juſtneſs of their Cauſe*; wherein moſt frequently they dy'd *in a brutiſh fierceneſs*, with Oaths and other damning Words in their Mouths; as if ſuch had been *all the Oaths* they fought for: which undoubtedly ſent them full Sail on another Voyage then to Heav'n. In the mean while they to whom God gave Victory, never brought to the King at *Oxford* the ſtate of their *Conſciences*, that he ſhould preſume without Confeſſion, more then a Pope preſumes, to tell abroad what *Conflicts and Accuſations*, Men whom he never ſpoke with, have *in their Thoughts*. We never read of any *Engliſh* King but one that was a Confeſſor; and his name was *Edward*: yet ſure it paſs'd his skill to know Thoughts, as this King takes upon him. But they who will not ſtick to ſlander Mens inward Conſciences, which they can neither ſee nor know, much leſs will care to ſlander outward

ward Actions, which they pretend to ſee, though with Senſes never ſo vitiated.

To judge of *his Condition Conquer'd*, and the manner of *dying* on that ſide, by the *ſober Men* that *choſe* it, would be his ſmall advantage: it being moſt notorious, that they who were hotteſt in his Cauſe, the moſt of them were Men oftner drunk, then by their good will ſober, and very many of them ſo fought and ſo dy'd.

And that *the Conſcience* of any Man ſhould grow *Suſpicious*, or *be now Convicted* by any *Pretentions* in the Parliament, which are now prov'd *falſe, and unintended*, there can be no juſt Cauſe. For neither did they ever pretend to Eſtabliſh his Throne without our Liberty and Religion, nor Religion without the Word of God, nor to judge of Laws by their being *Eſtabliſht*, but to eſtabliſh them by their being good and neceſſary.

He tells the World, *He often pray'd that all on his ſide might be as faithful to God and their own Souls, as to him.* But Kings, above all other Men, have in their hands not to pray only but to do. To make that Prayer effectual, he ſhould have govern'd as well as pray'd. To pray and not to govern is for a Monk and not a King. Till then he might be well aſſur'd they were more *faithful* to their Luſt and Rapine then to him.

In the wonted predication of his own Vertues he goes on to tell us, that to *Conquer he never deſir'd, but only to reſtore the Laws and Liberties of his People.* It had been happy then he had known at laſt, that by force to reſtore Laws abrogated by the Legiſlative Parliament, is to Conquer abſolutely both them, and Law it ſelf. And for our Liberties, none ever oppreſs'd them more, both in Peace and

War; first like a Master by his Arbitrary Power; next as an Enemy by hostile Invasion.

And if his best Friends fear'd him, and *he himself, in the Temptation of an Absolute Conquest*, it was not only pious but friendly in the Parliament, both to fear him and resist him; since their not yielding, was the only means to keep him out of that *Temptation* wherein he doubted his own Strength.

He takes himself to be *guilty in this War of nothing else, but of confirming the Power of some Men*: Thus all along he signifies the Parliament, whom to have settl'd by an Act he counts to be his only guiltiness. So well he knew that to continue a Parliament, was to raise a War against himself; what were his Actions then and his Government the while? For never was it heard in all our Story, that Parliaments made War on their Kings, but on their Tyrants; whose *Modesty and Gratitude* was more wanting to the Parliament, then theirs to any of such Kings.

What he yielded was his fear; what he deny'd was his Obstinacy; *had he yielded more*, fear might perchance have sav'd him; had he granted *less*, his Obstinacy had perhaps the sooner deliver'd us.

To review the occasions of this War will be to them never *too late*, who would be warn'd by his example from the like Evils: but *to wish only a happy Conclusion*, will never expiate the Fault of his *unhappy Beginnings*. 'Tis true on our side the Sins of our Lives not seldom fought against us: but on their side, besides those, the grand Sin of their Cause.

How

How can it be otherwiſe when *he deſires* here moſt unreaſonably, and indeed ſacrilegiouſly, that we ſhould be *ſubject to him*, though not *further*, yet as far as *all of us may be ſubject to God*; to whom this Expreſſion leaves no precedency. He who *deſires* from Men as much Obedience and Subjection, as we may all pay to God, deſires not leſs then to be a God; a Sacriledge far worſe then medling with the Biſhops Lands, as he eſteems it.

His Prayer is a good Prayer and a glorious; but glorying is not good, if it know not that a little leven, levens the whole lump. It ſhould have purg'd out the leven of untruth in telling God that the *Blood of his Subjects by him ſhed was in his juſt and neceſſary Defence.* Yet this is remarkable; God hath here ſo order'd his Prayer, that as his own Lips acquitted the Parliament, not long before his Death, of all the Blood ſpilt in this War, ſo now his Prayer unwittingly draws it upon himſelf. For God *imputes* not to any Man the Blood he ſpils in a juſt Cauſe: and no Man ever begg'd his *not imputing* of that which he in his Juſtice could not impute. So that now whether purpoſely, or unaware he hath confeſs'd both to God and Man the Blood-guiltineſs of all this War to lie upon his own Head.

XX. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

THIS Chapter cannot punctually be anſwer'd without more Repetitions then now can be excuſable: Which perhaps have already been more humour'd then was needful. As it preſens

ſents us with nothing new, ſo with his exceptions againſt Reformation pittifully old, and tatter'd with continual uſing; not only in his Book, but in the Words and Writings of every Papiſt and Popiſh King. On the Scene he thruſts out firſt an Antimaſque of two Bugbears, *Novelty* and *Perturbation*; that the ill looks and noiſe of thoſe two, may, as long as poſſible, drive off all endeavours of a Reformation. Thus ſought Pope *Adrian* by repreſenting the like vain Terrors, to divert and diſſipate the Zeal of thoſe reforming Princes of the Age before in *Germany*. And if we credit *Latimers* Sermons, our Papiſts here in *England* pleaded the ſame dangers and inconveniences againſt that which was reform'd by *Edward* the Sixth. Whereas if thoſe fears had been available, Chriſtianity it ſelf had never been receiv'd. Which Chriſt foretold us, would not be admitted without the cenſure of Novelty and many great Commotions. Theſe therefore are not to deter us.

He grants Reformation to be *a good Work*, and confeſſes, *What the indulgence of Times and Corruption of Manners might have depray'd.* So did the forem:ntion'd Pope, and our Granſire Papiſts in this Realm. Yet all of them agree in one Song with this here, that *they are ſorry to ſee ſo little regard had to Laws eſtabliſht, and the Religion ſettl'd.*

Popular Compliance, diſſolution of all Order and Government in the Church, Schiſms, Opinions, Undecencies, Confuſions, Sacrilegious Invaſions, Contempt of the Clergy, and their Liturgy, Diminution of Princes: all theſe Complaints are to be read in the Meſſages and Speeches almoſt of every Legate from the Pope to thoſe States and Cities which began Reformation. From whence he either learnt the ſame Pretences, or had them naturally in him from the ſame Spirit. Neither

ther was there ever ſo ſincere a Reformation that hath eſcap'd theſe clamours.

He offer'd a *Synod or Convocation rightly choſen.* So offer'd all thoſe Popiſh Kings heretofore; a courſe the moſt unſatisfactory, as matters have been long carried, and found by experience in the Church liable to the greateſt fraud and packing: no ſolution, or redreſs of evil, but an increaſe rather, deteſted therefore by *Nazianzen* and ſome other of the Fathers. And let it be produc'd, what good hath been done by Synods from the firſt times of Reformation.

Not to juſtifie what enormities the Vulgar may commit in the rudeneſs of their zeal, we need but only inſtance how he bemoans *the pulling down of Croſſes* and other ſuperſtitious Monuments, as the effect *of a popular and deceitful Reformation.* How little this ſavours of a Proteſtant, is too eaſily perceiv'd.

What he charges in defect of *Piety, Charity and Morality*, hath been alſo charg'd by Papiſts upon the beſt Reformed Churches: not as if they the accuſers were not tenfold more to be accus'd, but out of their Malignity to all endeavour of amendment; as we know who accus'd to God the ſincerity of *Job*; an accuſation of all others the moſt eaſie, when as there lives not any mortal Man ſo Excellent, who in theſe things is not always deficient. But the infirmities of beſt Men, and the ſcandals of mixt Hypocrites in all times of reforming whoſe bold intruſion covets to be ever ſeen in things moſt Sacred as they are moſt ſpecious, can lay no juſt blemiſh upon the integrity of others, much leſs upon the purpoſe of Reformation it ſelf. Neither can the evil doings of ſome be the excuſe of our delaying or deſerting that duty to the Church

Church, which for no reſpect of times or carnal policies can be at any time unſeaſonable.

He tells with great ſhew of Piety what kind of Perſons *Public Reformers* ought to be, and what they ought to do. 'Tis ſtrange that in above Twenty Years, the Church growing ſtill worſe and worſe under him, he could neither be as he bids others be, nor do, as he pretends here ſo well to know; nay, which is worſt of all, after the greateſt part of his Reign ſpent in neither knowing nor doing ought toward a Reformation either in Church or State, ſhould ſpend the Reſidue in hindring thoſe by a Seven Years War, whom it concern'd with his conſent or without it to do their parts in that great performance.

'Tis true that the *method of Reforming* may well ſubſiſt without *perturbation of the State*; but that it falls out otherwiſe for the moſt part, is the plain Text of Scripture. And if by his own Rule he had allow'd us *to fear God firſt*, and the King in due order, our Allegiance might have ſtill follow'd our Religion in a fit Subordination. But if *Chriſts Kingdom* be tak'n for the true Diſcipline of the Church, and by *his Kingdom* be meant the violence he us'd againſt it, and to uphold an *Antichriſtian* Hierarchy, then ſure enough it is, that Chriſts Kingdom could *not be ſet up* without *pulling down his*: And they were beſt Chriſtians who were leaſt ſubject to him. *Chriſts Government*, out of queſtion meaning it Prelatical, he thought would *confirm his*: and this was that which *overthrew it*.

He profeſſes *to own his Kingdom from Chriſt, and to deſire to Rule for his Glory, and the Churches good*: The Pope and the King of *Spain* profeſs every where as much; and both his Practice and all his reaſonings,

reasonings, all his enmity against the true Church we see hath been the same with theirs, since the time that in his Letter to the Pope he assur'd them both of his full compliance. *But evil beginnings never bring forth good conclusions:* they are his own words, and he ratifi'd them by his own ending. To the Pope he ingag'd himself to hazzard Life and Estate for the Roman Religion, whether in complement he did it, or in earnest: and God, who stood nearer then he for complementing minded, writ down those words; that according to his resolution, so it should come to pass. He Prays against *his Hypocrisie and Pharasaical washings*, a Prayer to him most pertinent, but choaks it streight with other words which pray him deeper into his old Errors and Delusions.

XXI. *Upon His Letters tak'n and divulg'd.*

THE Kings Letters taken at the Battel of *Naseby*, being of greatest importance to let the People see what Faith there was in all his Promises and Solemn Protestations, were transmitted to Public View by special Order of the Parliament. They discover'd his good affection to Papists and *Irish* Rebels, the streight intelligence he held, the pernicious and dishonourable Peace he made with them, not Sollicited but rather Solliciting, which by all Invocations that were Holy he had in Public abjur'd. They reveal'd his endeavours to bring in Foreign Forces, *Irish*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Lorainers*, and

and our old Invaders the *Danes* upon us, beſides his Suttleties and Miſterious Arts in Treating: to Sum up all, they ſhew'd him govern'd by a Woman. All which though ſuſpected vehemently before, and from good grounds believ'd, yet by him and his adherents peremptorily deny'd, were, by the op'ning of that Cabinet, viſible to all Men under his own hand.

The Parliament therefore to clear themſelves of aſperſing him without cauſe, and that the People might no longer be abus'd and cajol'd, as they call it, by falſities and Court impudence, in matters of ſo high concernment, to let them know on what Terms their Duty ſtood, and the Kingdoms Peace, conceiv'd it moſt expedient and neceſſary, that thoſe Letters ſhould be made Public. This the King affirms was by them done without *honour and civility*: words, which if they contain not in them, as in the Language of a Courtier moſt commonly they do not, more of ſubſtance and reality then complement, Ceremony, Court fauning and diſſembling, enter not I ſuppoſe further then the Ear into any Wiſe Mans conſideration. Matters were not then between the Parliament and a King their Enemy in that State of trifling, as to obſerve thoſe ſuperficial vanities. But if honour and civility mean, as they did of old, Diſcretion, Honeſty, Prudence, and plain Truth, it will be then maintain'd againſt a Sect of thoſe *Cabaliſts*, that the Parliament in doing what they did with thoſe Letters, could ſuffer in their honour and civility no diminution. The reaſons are already heard.

And that it is with none more familiar then with Kings, to tranſgreſs the bounds of all honour and civility, there ſhould not want examples good ſtore, if brevity would permit; In point of Letters this one

one ſhall ſuffice. The *Dutcheſs* of *Burgundy* and Heir of *Duke Charles*, had promis'd to her Subjects that ſhe intended no otherwiſe to Govern, then by Adviſe of the three Eſtates, but to *Lewis* the *French* King had writt'n Letters, that ſhe had reſolv'd to commit wholly the managing of her Affairs to four Perſons, whom ſhe nam'd: The three Eſtates not doubting the ſincerity of her Princely Word, ſend Embaſſadors to *Lewis*, who then Beſeig'd *Arras* belonging to the Dukes of *Burgundy*. The King taking hold of this occaſion to ſet them at Diviſion among themſelves, queſtion'd their Credence; which when they offer'd to produce with their Inſtructions, he not only ſhews them the private Letter of their Dutcheſs, but gives it them to carry home, wherewith to affront her; which they did, ſhe denying it ſtoutly; till they, ſpreading it before her Face in a full Aſſembly, convicted her of an op'n Lye. Which although *Commines* the Hiſtorian much blames, as a deed too harſh and diſhonourable in them who were Subjects, and not at War with their Princeſs, yet to his Maſter *Lewis*, who firſt divulg'd thoſe Letters, to the op'n ſhaming of that Young Governeſs, he imputes no incivility or diſhonour at all, although betraying a certain confidence repos'd by that Letter in his Royal Secreſy.

With much more Reaſon then may Letters not intercepted only, but won in Battel from an Enemy, be made Public to the beſt Advantages of them that win them, to the Diſcovery of ſuch important truth or falſhood. Was it not more diſhonourable in himſelf to fain ſuſpicions and jealouſies, which we firſt found among thoſe Letters, touching the Chaſtity of his Mother, thereby to gain Aſſiſtance from the King of *Denmark*, as in vindication of his Siſter? The Damſel of *Burgundy*, at ſight

of

of her own Letter, was ſoon Blank, and more ingenious then to ſtand outfacing; but this Man whom nothing will convince, thinks by talking World without End, to make good his integrity and fair dealing contradicted by his own Hand and Seal. They who can pick nothing out of them but Phraſes ſhall be counted *Bees*: they that diſcern further both there and here, that *conſtancy to his Wife* is ſet in the place before Laws and Religion, are in his naturalities no better then *Spiders*.

He would work the People to a perſwaſion, that *if he be miſerable they cannot be happy*. What ſhould hinder them? Were they all Born Twins of *Hippocrites* with him and his Fortune, one Birth, one Burial? It were a Nation miſerable indeed, not worth the name of a Nation, but a Race of Idiots, whoſe happineſs and welfare depended upon one Man. The happineſs of a Nation conſiſts in true Religion, Piety, Juſtice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and the contempt of Avarice and Ambition. They in whomſoever theſe vertues dwell eminently, need not Kings to make them happy, but are the Architects of their own happineſs; and whether to themſelves or others are not leſs then Kings. Kings in him, which of theſe vertues were to be found, that might extend to the making happy, or the well-governing of ſo much as his own Houſhold, which was the moſt licentious and ill-govern'd in the whole Land.

But the op'ning of his Letters was deſign'd by the Parliament to make *all Reconciliation deſperate*. Are the lives of ſo many good and faithful Men, that dy'd for the Freedom of their Country, to be ſo ſlighted, as to be forgott'n in a ſtupid reconcilement without Juſtice done them? What he fears not by War and Slaughter, ſhould we fear *to make deſperate*

desperate by op'ning his Letters? Which Fact he would parallel with *Chams* revealing of his Fathers Nakedness: When he at that time could be no way esteem'd *the Father of his Country*, but the Destroyer; nor had he ever before merited that former Title.

He thanks God he cannot only bear this with patience, but with charity forgive the doers. Is not this meer mockery to thank God for what he can do, but will not? For is it patience to impute *Barbarism and Inhumanity* to the op'ning of an Enemies Letter, or is it Charity to cloath them with curses in his Prayer, whom he hath forgiv'n in his Discourse. In which Prayer to shew how readily he can return good for evil to the Parliament, and that if they take away his Coat, he can let them have his Cloak also, for the dismantling of his Letters he wishes, *They may be cover'd with the Cloak of confusion.* Which I suppose they do resign with much willingness, both Livery, Badge, and Cognizance, to them who choose rather to be his Servants and Vassals, then to stand against him for the Liberty of their Country.

XXII. *Upon His going to the* Scots.

THE Kings coming in, whether to the *Scots* or *English*, deserv'd no thanks: For *necessity was his Counsellor*: and that he hated them both alike, his expressions every where manifest. Some say his purpose was to have come to *London*, till hearing how strictly it was Proclaim'd that no Man should conceal him, he diverted his course. But that had been a frivolous excuse: and besides he himself rehearsing the consultations had, before he took his journey, shews us clearly that he

was

was determin'd to adventure *upon their Loyalty who first began his troubles.* And that the *Scots* had notice of it before, hath been long since brought to light. What prudence there could be in it, no Man can imagin; Malice there might be, by raising new jealousies to divide Friends. For besides his diffidence of the *English*, it was no small dishonour that he put upon them, when rather then yield himself to the Parliament of *England*, he yielded to a hireling Army of *Scots* in *England*, paid for their Service here, not in *Scotch* Coyn, but in *English* Silver; nay who from the first beginning of these troubles, what with Brotherly Assistance, and what with Monthly Pay, have Defended their own Liberty and Consciences at our charge. However it was a hazzardous and rash journey taken, *to resolve Riddles in Mens Loyalty*, who had more reason to mistrust the Riddle of such a Disguised yielding: and to put himself in their hands whose Loyalty was a Riddle to him, was not the course to be resolv'd of it, but to tempt it. *What Providence deny'd to Force*, he thought *it might grant* to fraud, which he stiles *Prudence*: But Providence was not couzen'd with disguises, neither outward nor inward.

To have known *his greatest danger in his supposed safety, and his greatest safety in his supposed danger* was to him a fatal Riddle never yet resolv'd; wherein rather to have imploy'd his main skill, had been much more to his Preservation.

Had he *known when the Game was lost*, it might have sav'd much *contest*: but the way *to give over fairly*, was not to slip out of op'n War into a new disguise. He lays down his Arms, but not his Wiles; nor all his Arms, for in obstinacy he comes no less Arm'd then ever, *Cap a pe*. And what were they but Wiles, continually to move for

Treaties,

Treaties, and yet to perfiſt the ſame Man, and to *ſurviſe his Mind* before hand, ſtill purpoſing to grant no more then what ſeem'd good to that violent and lawleſs Triumvirate within him, under the falſifi'd names of his Reaſon, Honour and Conſcience, the old circulating Dance of his Shifts and Evaſions.

The Words of a King, as they are *full of Power*, in the Authority and Strength of Law, ſo like *Sampſon*, without the Strength of that *Nazarites* lock, they have no more Power in them then the Words of another Man.

He adores Reaſon as *Domitian* did *Minerva*, and calls her the *divineſt Power*, thereby to imitate as if at reaſoning, as at his own Weapon, no Man were ſo able as himſelf. Might we be ſo happy as to know where theſe Monuments of his Reaſon may be ſeen, for in his Actions and his Writing they appear as thinly as could be expected from the meaneſt parts, bred up in the midſt of ſo many ways extraordinary to know ſomething. He who reads his talk, would think he had left *Oxford* not without mature deliberation: Yet his Prayer confeſſes that *he knew not what to do*. Thus is verifi'd that Pſalm; *He powreth Contempt upon Princes and cauſeth them to wander in the Wilderneſs where there is no way*. Pſal. 107.

XXIII. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* Engliſh.

THAT the *Scots* in *England* ſhould *ſell their King*, as he himſelf here affirms, and for a *price ſo much above that*, which the covetouſneſs of *Judas* was contented with to ſell *our Saviour*, is ſo

foul an Infamy and Diſhonour caſt upon them, it befits none to vindicate but themſelves. And it were but friendly Council to wiſh them beware the Son, who comes among them with a firm belief that they ſold his Father. The reſt of this Chapter he Sacrifices to the Echo of his Conſcience, our babling Creeds and Ave's, glorying in his reſolute Obſtinacy, and as it were triumphing how *evident it is now*, that *not evil Councellors*, but he himſelf hath been the Author of all our Troubles. Herein only we ſhall diſagree to the Worlds end, while he who ſought ſo manifeſtly to have annihilated all our Laws and Liberties, hath the confidence to perſwade us that he hath *fought* and *ſuffer'd* all this while in their Defence.

But he who neither by his own Letters and Commiſſions under Hand and Seal, nor by his own Actions held as in a Mirror before his Face, will be convinc'd to ſee his Faults, can much leſs be wun upon by any force of Words, neither he, nor any that take after him; who in that reſpect are no more to be diſputed with, then they who deny Principles. No queſtion then, but the Parliament did wiſely in their decree at laſt, to make no more addreſſes. For how unalterable his will was, that would have been our Lord, how utterly averſe from the Parliament and Reformation, during his Confinement, we may behold in this Chapter. But to be ever anſwering fruitleſs Repetitions, I ſhould become liable to anſwer for the ſame my ſelf. He borrows *Davids* Pſalms, as he charges the *Aſſembly of Divines* in his twentieth Diſcourſe, *To have ſet forth Old Catechiſms and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt*. Had he borrow'd *Davids* Heart, it had been much the holyer Theft. For ſuch kind of borrowing as this, if it be not better'd by the borrower, among good

good Authors is accounted *Plagiary*. However, this was more tolerable then *Pamela*'s Prayer, stolen out of Sir *Philip*.

XXIV. *Upon the denying him the attendance of his Chaplains.*

A CHAPLAIN is a thing so diminutive, and inconsiderable, that how he should come here among Matters of so great Concernment, to take such room up in the Discourses of a Prince, if it be not wonder'd, is to be smil'd at. Certainly by me, so mean an Argument shall not be Written; but I shall huddle him as he does Prayers. The Scripture owns no such order, no such Function in the Church; and the Church not owning them, they are left, for ought I know, to such a further examining as the Sons of *Sceva* the *Jew* met with; Bishops or Presbyters we know and Deacons we know, but what are Chaplains? In State perhaps they may be listed among the upper Serving-men of some great Houshold, and be admitted to some such place, as may stile them the Sewers, or the Yeomen Ushers of Devotion, where the Master is too resty, or too much rich to say his own Prayers, or to bless his own Table. Wherefore should the Parliament then take such Implements of the Court Cup-bord into their consideration? They knew them to have been the main corrupters at the Kings Elbow: they knew the King to have been always their most attentive Scholar, and Imitator, and of a Child to have suckt from them and their Closet-work all his impotent Principles of Tyranny and Superstition. While therefore they had any hope left of his reclaiming, these sowers of Malignant

Tears they kept a ſunder from him: and ſent to him ſuch of the Miniſters and other Zealous Perſons, as they thought were beſt able to inſtruct him, and to convert him. What could Religion her ſelf have done more to the ſaving of a Soul? But when they found him paſt Cure, and that he to himſelf was grown the moſt Evil Councellor of all, they deny'd him not his Chaplains, as many as were fitting, and ſome of them attended him, or elſe were at his call to the very laſt. Yet here he makes more Lamentation for the want of his Chaplains, then Superſtitious *Micah* did to the *Danites*, who had taken away his Houſhold Prieſt. *Ye have taken away my Gods which I made, and the Prieſt, and what have I more?* And perhaps the whole Story of *Micah* might ſquare not unfitly to this Argument: *Now know I*, ſaith he, *that the Lord will do me good ſeeing I have a Levite to my Prieſt*. *Micah* had as great a care that his Prieſt ſhould be Moſaical, as the King had that his ſhould be *Apoſtolical*; yet both in an Error touching their Prieſts. Houſhold and private Oriſons were not to be officiated by Prieſts; for neither did public Prayer appertain only to their Office. Kings heretofore, *David*, *Solomon* and *Jehoſaphat*, who might not touch the Prieſthood, yet might pray in public, yea in the Temple, while the Prieſts themſelves ſtood and heard. What ail'd this King then that he could not chew his own Mattins without the Prieſt's *Oretenus*? Yet is it like he could not pray at home, who can here publiſh a whole Prayer-Book of his own, and ſignifies in ſome part of this Chapter, almoſt as good a mind to be a Prieſt himſelf, as *Micah* had to let his Son be. There was doubtleſs therefore ſome other Matter in it which made him ſo deſirous to have his Chaplains about him, who

were

were not only the contrivers, but very oft the Instruments also of his Designs.

The Ministers which were sent him no marvel he indur'd not; for they Preacht Repentance to him: the others gave him easie Confession, easie Absolution, nay, *strengthen'd his Hands and harden'd his Heart* by applauding him in his wilful ways. To them he was an *Ahab*, to these a *Constantine*; it must follow then that they to him were as unwelcome as *Eliah* was to *Ahab*, these as dear, and pleasing as *Amaziah* the Priest of *Bethel* was to *Jeroboam*. These had learnt well the lesson that would please; *Prophesie not against* Bethel, *for it is the Kings Chappel, the Kings Court*; and had taught the King to say of those Ministers which the Parliament had sent, Amos *hath conspir'd against me, the Land is not able to bear all his Words*.

Returning to our first Parallel, this King lookt upon his Prelates *as Orphans under the Sacrilegious Eyes of rapacious Reformers*: and there was as great fear of Sacrilege between *Micah* and his Mother, till with their holy Treasure, about the loss whereof there was such cursing, they made a graven and a molten *Image*, and got a Priest of their own. To let go his Criticizing about the *sound of Prayers, Imperious, Rude, or Passionate*, modes of his own devising, we are in danger to fall again upon the flats and shallows of Liturgy. Which if I should repeat again, would turn my answers into *Responsories*, and beget another Liturgy, having too much of one already.

This only I shall add, that if the heart, as he alledges, cannot safely *joyn with another Mans extemporal sufficiency*, because we know not so exactly what they mean to say, then those public Prayers

made in the Temple by those forenamed Kings, and by the Apostles in the Congregation, and by the Ancient Christians for above three hundred Years before Liturgies came in, were with the People made in vain.

After he hath acknowledg'd that Kings heretofore pray'd without Chaplains, even publickly in the Temple it self, and that every *private Believer is invested with a Royal Priesthood*, yet like one that relisht not what he *tasted of the Heavenly Gift, and the good Word of God* whose name he so confidently takes into his Mouth, he frames to himself impertinent and vain Reasons, why he should rather pray by the officiating Mouth of a Closet Chaplain. *Their Prayers*, saith he, *are more prevalent, they flow from Minds more enlighten'd, from affections less distracted.* Admit this true, which is not; this might be something said as to their Prayers for him, but what avails it to their praying with him? If his own Mind *be incumbered with secular Affairs*, what helps it his particular Prayer, though the Mind of his Chaplain be not wandring, either after new Preferment, or his Dinner? The fervency of one Man in Prayer, cannot superarogate for the coldness of another; neither can *his spiritual Defects* in that Duty be made out, in the acceptance of God, by another Mans Abilities. Let him endeavour to have more light in himself: And not to walk by another Mans Lamp, but to get Oyl into his own. Let him cast from him, as in a Christian Warfare, that secular incumbrance which either distracts, or overloads him; his Load else will never be the less heavy, because another Mans is light. Thus these pious Flourishes and Colours examin'd throughly, are like the Apples of *Asphaltis*, appearing

ng goodly to the ſudden Eye, but look well upon them, or at leaſt but touch them, and they turn into Cinders.

In his Prayer he remembers what *voices of joy and gladneſs* there were in his Chappel, *Gods Houſe* in his Opinion, between the Singing Men and the Organs; and this was *Unity of Spirit in the Bond of Peace*; the Vanity, Superſtition, and Miſdevotion of which place, was a ſcandal far and near: Wherein ſo many things were ſung, and pray'd in thoſe Songs, which were not underſtood: and yet he who makes a difficulty how the People can joyn their Hearts to extemporal Prayers, though diſtinctly heard and underſtood, makes no queſtion how they ſhould joyn their Hearts in Unity to Songs not underſtood.

I believe that God is no more mov'd with a prayer elaborately Pen'd, then Men truly charitable are mov'd with the Pen'd Speech of a Beggar.

Finally, O ye Miniſters read here what work he makes among your Gally Pots, your *Balmes* and *Cordials*, and not only your *ſweet Sippets* in Widows Houſes, but the huge gobbets where with he charges you to have devour'd Houſes and all; the *Houſes of your Brethren, your King, and your God.* Cry him up for a Saint in your Pulpits, while he cries you down for Atheiſts into Hell.

XXV. *Upon his Penitential Meditations and Vows at* Holmby.

IT is not hard for any Man, who hath a Bible in his hands, to borrow good Words and holy Sayings in abundance, but to make them his own, is a work of Grace only from above. He borrows here many penitential Verſes out of *Davids Pſalms*. So did many among thoſe *Iſraelites*, who had revolted from the true Worſhip of God, *Invent to themſelves Inſtruments of Muſick like David*, and probably Pſalms alſo like his, and yet the Prophet *Amos* complains heavily againſt them. But to prove how ſhort this is of true Repentance, I will recite the penitence of others, who have repented in Words not borrow'd but their own, and yet by the doom of Scripture it ſelf are judg'd Reprobates.

Cain ſaid unto the Lord, *My iniquity is greater then I can bear, behold thou haſt driven me this day from the face of the Earth, and from thy face ſhall I be hid.*

And when Eſau *heard the words of his Father he cry'd with an exceeding bitter cry, and ſaid, Bleſs me even me alſo O my Father*; yet *found no place of Repentance though he ſought it carefully with Tears*, Heb. 12.

And *Pharaoh* ſaid to *Moſes, The Lord is righteous, I and my People are wicked*; *I have ſin'd againſt the Lord your God and againſt you.*

And *Balaam* ſaid, *Let me die the Death of the Righteous and let my laſt end be like his.*

And *Saul* ſaid to *Samuel, I have ſin'd, for I have tranſgreſs'd the Commandment of the Lord*; *yet honour me now I pray thee before the Elders of my People.*

And

And when Ahab *heard the words of* Eliah, *he rent his Cloaths and put on Sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and lay in Sackcloth, and went softly.*

Jehoram also *rent his Cloaths, and the People look'd and beheld he had Sackcloth upon his flesh*, yet in the very Act of his Humiliation he could say, *God do so, and more also to me, if the head of* Elishah *shall stand on him this day.*

Therefore *saith the Lord, They have not cry'd unto me with their Heart, when they howl'd upon their Beds. They return, but not to the most High.* Hosea 7.

And *Judas* said, *I have sin'd, in that I have betray'd innocent Blood.*

And *Simon Magus* said, *Pray ye to the Lord for me that none of these things come upon me.*

All these took the pains both to confess and to repent in their own words, and many of them in their own tears, not in *Davids*. But transported with the vain Ostentation of imitating *Davids* Language, not his Life, observe how he brings a curse upon himself and his Fathers House (God so disposing it) by his usurp'd and ill imitated Prayer. *Let thy anger I beseech thee be against me and my Fathers House, not for these Sheep what have they done.* For if *David* indeed find in numbering the People, of which fault he in earnest made that confession, and acquitted the whole People from the guilt of that sin, then doth this King, using the same words, bear witness against himself to be the guilty Person, and either in his Soul and Conscience here acquits the Parliament and the People, or else abuses the words of *David*, and dissembles grosly even to the face of God; which is apparent in the very next Line; wherein he accuses ev'n the Church it self to God, as if she were *the Churches Enemie*, for having overcome

come his Tyranny by the powerful and miraculous might of Gods manifeſt Arm: For to other ſtrength in the midſt of our Diviſions and Diſorders, who can attribute our Victories? Thus had this miſerable Man no worſe Enemies to Sollicite and mature his own Deſtruction from the haſtn'd Sentence of Divine Juſtice, then the obdurate curſes which Proceeded againſt himſelf out of his own Mouth.

Hitherto his Meditations, now his Vows, which as the Vows of Hypocrites uſe to be, are moſt commonly abſurd, and ſome wicked. *Jacob* vow'd that God ſhould be his God, if he granted him but what was neceſſary to perform that Vow, Life and Subſiſtence: but the Obedience proffered here is nothing ſo cheap. He who took ſo heinouſly to be offer'd nineteen Propoſitions from the Parliament, capitulates here with God almoſt in as many Articles.

If he will continue that light or rather that darkneſs of the Goſpel, which is among his Prelats, ſettle their Luxuries, and make them gorgeous Biſhops.

If he will *reſtore* the grievances and miſchiefs of thoſe obſolete and Popiſh Laws, which the Parliament without his Conſent hath Abrogated, and will ſuffer Juſtice to be Executed according to his Senſe.

If he will ſuppreſs the many Schiſms in Church, to contradict himſelf in that which he hath foretold muſt and ſhall come to paſs, and will remove Reformation as the greateſt Schiſm of all, and Factions in the State, by which he means in every Leaf the Parliament.

If he will *reſtore him* to his Negative Voice and the *Militia*, as much to ſay as Arbitrary Power, which he wrongfully avers to be the *right of his Predeceſſors.*

If he will turn the Hearts of his People to their old

Cathedral and Parochial Service in the Liturgy, and their paſſive Obedience to the King,

If he will quench the Army, and withdraw our Forces from withſtanding the Piracy of *Rupert*, and the Plotted *Iriſh* Invaſions,

If he will bleſs him with the Freedom of Biſhops again in the Houſe of Peers, and of fugitive Delinquents in the Houſe of Commons, *and deliver the Honour of Parliament* into his hands, from the moſt natural and due Protection of the People, that entruſted them with the dangerous enterprize of being faithful to their Country againſt the rage and malice of his Tyrannous oppoſition,

If he will keep him from that great Offence of following the Counſel of his Parliament, and *enacting* what they Adviſe him to, which in all reaſon, and by the known Law and Oath of his Coronation he ought to do, and not to call that *Sacriledge* which neceſſity through the continuance of his own Civil War hath compell'd them to, neceſſity, which made *David* eat the Shew-bread, made *Ezechiah* take all the Silver which was found in Gods Houſe, and cut off the Gold which overlaid thoſe Doors and Pillars, and give it to *Sennacherib*, neceſſity, which oft-times made the Primitive Church to ſell her Sacred Utenſils, ev'n to the Communion Chalice,

If he will reſtore him to a capacity of glorifying him by doing, that both in Church and State, which muſt needs diſhonour and pollute his name,

If he will bring him again with Peace, Honour and Safety to his chief City, without repenting, without ſatisfying for the Blood ſpilt, only for a few Politic Conceſſions which are as good as nothing,

If he will put again the Sword into his hand, to puniſh thoſe that have deliver'd us, and to *protect* Delinquents againſt the Juſtice of Parliament,

Then,

Then, if it be poſſible to reconcile contradictions, he will praiſe him by diſpleaſing him, and ſerve him by diſerving him.

His glory, in the gaudy Copes, and Painted Windows, Miters, Rochets, Altars, and the Chanted Service-Book *ſhall be dearer to him* then the Eſtabliſhing his Crown in righteouſneſs, and the Spiritual Power of Religion.

He will Pardon thoſe that have offended him in particular, but there ſhall want no ſuttle ways to be ev'n with them upon another ſcore of their ſuppos'd offences againſt the Common-wealth; whereby he may at once affect the glory of a ſeeming Juſtice, and deſtroy them pleaſantly, whiles he fains to forgive them as to his own particular, and outwardly bewails them.

Theſe are the conditions of his treating with God, to whom he bates nothing of what he ſtood upon with the Parliament: as if Commiſſions of Array could deal with him alſo. But of all theſe conditions, as it is now evident in our Eyes, God accepted none, but that final Petition which he ſo oft, no doubt but by the Secret judgment of God, importunes againſt his own head; Praying God, *That his mercies might be ſo toward him, as his reſolutions of Truth and Peace were toward his People.* It follows then, God having cut him off without granting any of theſe mercies, that his reſolutions were as fained as his Vows were fruſtrate.

XXVI. *Upon the Armies Surprisal of the King at* Holmby.

TO give account to Royalists what was done with their vanquisht Kings yeilded up into our hands, is not to be expected from them whom God hath made his Conquerors. And for Brethren to debate and rip up their falling out, in the Ear of a common Enemy, thereby making him the Judge, or at least the well pleas'd Auditor of their disagreement, is neither wise nor comely. To the King therefore, were he living, or to his Party yet remaining, as to this Action, there belongs no answer. Æmulations, all Men know are incident among Military Men, and are, if they exceed not, Pardonable. But some of the former Army eminent enough for their own martial deeds, and prevalent in the House of Commons, touch'd with envy to be so far out-done by a new model which they contemn'd, took advantage of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Names, and the virulence of some Ministers to raise disturbance. And the War being then ended, thought slightly to have discarded them, who had faithfully done the work, without their due pay, and the reward of their invincible valour. But they who had the Sword yet in their hands, disdaining to be made the first objects of ingratitude and oppression, after all that expence of their Blood for Justice and the common Liberty, seiz'd upon the King their Pris'ner, whom nothing but their matchless deeds had brought so low as to surrender up his Person: though he, to stir up new discord, chose rather to give up himself a captive to his own

Country

Country-men who leſs had wun him. This in likelihood might have grown to ſome height of miſchief, partly through the ſtrife which was kindling between our elder and our younger Warriors, but chiefly through the Seditious Tongues of ſome falſe Miniſters, more Zealous againſt Schiſms, then againſt their own Simony and Pluralities, or watchful of the common Enemy, whoſe ſubtle Inſinuations had got ſo far in among them, as with all diligence to blow the Coals. But it pleas'd God not to embroile and put to Confuſion his whole People for the perverſneſs of a few. The growth of our diſſention was either prevented or ſoon quieted; the Enemy ſoon deceiv'd of his rejoycing, and the King eſpecially diſappointed of not the meaneſt Morſel that his hope preſented him, to ruin us by our Diviſion. And being now ſo nigh the end, we may the better be at leaſure to ſtay a while, and hear him commenting upon his own Captivity.

He ſaith of his ſurpriſal, that it was a *Motion eccentric and irregular*. What then? his own alluſion, from the Celeſtial Bodies, puts us to mind, that irregular Motions may be neceſſary on Earth ſometimes, as well as conſtantly in Heaven. That is not always beſt, which is moſt regular to Written Law. Great Worthies heretofore by diſobeying Law, oft times have ſav'd the Common-wealth: and the Law afterward by firm Decree hath approv'd that planetary Motion, that unblameable exorbitancy in them.

He means no good to either Independent or Presbyterian, and yet his parable, like that of *Balaam*, is overrul'd to portend them good, far beſide his intention. *Thoſe twins* that ſtrove *enclos'd in the Womb* of Rebeccah, were the Seed of *Abraham*; the younger undoubtedly gain'd the heavenly Birthright;

right; the Elder though Supplanted in his Simily shall yet no queſtion find a better Portion then *Eſau* found, and far above his uncircumcis'd Prelates.

He cenſures, and in cenſuring ſeems to hope, *it will be an ill Omen* that they *who Build Jeruſalem divide their Tongues and hands*. But his hope fail'd him with his example; for that there were Diviſions both of tongues and hands at the building of *Jeruſalem*, the Story would have certifi'd him; and yet the work proſper'd; and if God will, ſo may this; notwithſtanding all the craft and malignant Wil's of *Sanballat* and *Tobiah*, adding what Fuel they can to our Diſſentions; or the indignity of his compariſon that lik'ns us to thoſe Seditious *Zelots* whoſe *inteſtin fury* brought deſtruction to the laſt *Jeruſalem*.

It being now no more in his hand to be reveng'd on his Oppoſers, he ſeeks to Satiate his Fancy with the imagination of ſome revenge upon them from above; and like one who in a drowth obſerves the Sky, ſits and watches when any thing will drop, that migh Solace him with the likeneſs of a puniſhment from Heaven upon us: which he ſtrait expounds how he pleaſes. No evil can befal the Parliament or City, but he poſitively interprets it a jugement upon them for his ſake; as if the very Manuſcript of Gods judgements had been deliver'd to his cuſtody and expoſition. But his reading declares it well to be a falſe Copy which he uſes; diſpenſing oft'n to his own bad deeds and ſucceſſes the teſtimony of Divine Favour, and to the good deeds and ſucceſſes of other Men, Divine wrath and vengeance. But to Counterfeit the hand of God is the boldeſt of all Forgery: And he, who without Warrant but his own Fantaſtic Surmiſe, takes upon him

per-

perpetually to unfold the Secret and unſearchable Myſteries of High Providence, is likely for the moſt part to miſtake and ſlander them; and approaches to the madneſs of thoſe reprobate thoughts, that would wreſt the Sword of Juſtice out of Gods own hand, and imploy it more juſtly in his own Conceit. It was a ſmall thing to contend with the Parliament about ſole Power of the *Militia*, when we ſee him doing little leſs then laying hands on the Weapons of God himſelf, which are his judgments, to weild and manage them by the ſway and bent of his own frail cogitations. Therefore *they that by Tumults firſt occaſion'd the raiſing of Armies*, in his Doom *muſt* needs *be chaſtn'd by their own Army for new Tumults.*

Firſt, note here his confeſſion, that thoſe Tumults were the firſt occaſion of raiſing Armies, and by conſequence that he himſelf rais'd them firſt, againſt thoſe ſuppoſed Tumults. But who occaſion'd thoſe Tumults, or who made them ſo, being at firſt nothing more then the unarmed and peaceable concourſe of People, hath been diſcuſt already. And that thoſe pretended Tumults were chaſtiz'd by their own Army for new Tumults, is not prov'd by a Game at Tic-tack with words; *Tumults and Armies, Armies and Tumults*, but ſeems more like the method of a Juſtice Irrational then Divine.

If the City were chaſt'nd by the Army for new Tumults, the reaſon is by himſelf ſet down evident and immediate, *their new Tumults.* With what Senſe can it be referr'd then to another far-fetch'd and imaginary cauſe that happ'nd ſo many Years before, and his ſuppoſition only as a cauſe. *Manlius* defended the Capital and the *Romans* from their Enemies the *Gauls*: *Manlius* for Sedition afterward was by the *Romans* thrown headlong from the

the Capital, therefore *Manlius* was puniſht by Divine Juſtice for defending the Capital, becauſe in that place puniſh'd for Sedition, and by thoſe whom he defended. This is his Logic upon Divine Juſtice; and was the ſame before upon the death of *Sir John Hotham*. And here again, *Such as were content to ſee him driv'n away by unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forc'd to fly to an Army.* Was this a judgment? was it not a mercy rather, that they had a noble and victorious Army ſo near at hand to fly to?

From God's Juſtice he comes down to *Mans Juſtice*. Thoſe few of both Houſes *who at firſt withdrew with him* from the vain pretence of Tumults, *were counted Deſertors*; therefore thoſe many muſt be alſo Deſerters who with-drew afterwards from real Tumults: as if it were the place that made a Parliament, and not the end and cauſe. Becauſe it is deny'd that thoſe were Tumults from which the King made ſhew of being driv'n, is it therefore of neceſſity imply'd, that there could be never any Tumults for the future? If ſome Men fly in craft, may not other Men have cauſe to fly in earneſt? But mark the difference between their flight and his; they ſoon return'd in ſafety to their places, he not till after many Years, and then a Captive to receive his puniſhment. So that their flying, whether the cauſe be conſider'd or the event, or both, neither juſtifi'd him, nor *condemn'd themſelves*.

But he will needs have *vengeance to purſue and overtake them*; though to bring it in, it coſt him an inconvenient and obnoxious compariſon, *As the Mice and Rats overtook a German Biſhop*. I would our *Mice* and *Rats* had been as Orthodoxal here, and had ſo purſu'd all his Biſhops out of *England*;

then Vermin had rid away Vermin, which now hath loſt the Lives of too many Thouſand honeſt Men to do.

He cannot but obſerve this Divine Juſtice, yet with Sorrow and Pitty. But Sorrow and Pitty in a weak and overmaſter'd Enemy, is lookt upon no otherwiſe then as the Aſhes of his Revenge burnt out upon it ſelf; or as the damp of a cool fury when we ſay, it gives. But in this manner to ſit ſpelling and obſerving Divine Juſtice upon every accident and ſlight diſturbance that may happen humanly to the Affairs of Men, is but another fragment of his broken Revenge: and yet the ſhrewdeſt and the cunningeſt obloquy that can be thrown upon their Actions. For if he can perſwade Men that the Parliament and their cauſe is purſu'd with Divine Vengeance, he hath attain'd his end, to make all Men forſake them, and think the worſt that can be thought of them.

Nor is he only content to ſuborn Divine Juſtice in his cenſure of what is paſt, but he aſſumes the Perſon of Chriſt himſelf to prognoſticate over us what he wiſhes would come. So little is any thing or Perſon Sacred from him, no not in Heaven, which he will not uſe, and put on, if it may ſerve him plauſibly, to wreck his Spleen, or eaſe his Mind upon the Parliament. Altho if ever *fatal blindneſs* did both *attend and puniſh* willfulneſs, if ever any *enjoy'd not Comforts*, for *neglecting Council belonging to their Peace*, it was in none more evidently brought to paſs then in himſelf; and his predictions againſt the Parliament and their adherents have for the moſt part been verify'd upon his own Head, and upon this chief Councellors.

He concludes with high praiſes of the Army. But praiſes in an Enemy ſuperfluous, or ſmell of Craft and

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and the Army ſhall not need his praiſes; nor the Parliament fare worſe for his accuſing Prayers that follow. Wherein as his Charity can be no way comparable to that of Chriſt, ſo neither can his aſſurance that they whom he ſeems to pray for, in doing what they did againſt him, *knew not what they did.* It was but arrogance therefore and not charity to lay ſuch Ignorance to others in the ſight of God, till he himſelf had been infallible, like him whoſe peculiar Words he overweeningly aſſumes.

XXVII. *Intitl'd to the Prince of* Wales.

WHAT the King wrote to his Son, as a Father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him, as a King of *England*, concerns not him; God and the Parliament having now otherwiſe diſpos'd of *England*. But becauſe I ſee it done with ſome Artice and Labour, to poſſeſs the People that they might amend their preſent Condition, by his or by his Sons reſtorement, I ſhall ſhew Point by Point, that although the King had been reinſtall'd to his deſire, or that his Son admitted, ſhould obſerve exactly all his Fathers precepts, yet that this would be ſo far from conducing to our happineſs, either as a *Remedy to the preſent Diſtempers, or a prevention of the like to come*, that it would inevitably throw us back again into all our paſt and fulfill'd Miſeries; would force us to fight over again all our tedious Wars, and put us to another fatal ſtrugling for Liberty and Life, more dubious then the former. In which as our Succeſs hath been no other then our cauſe; ſo it will

be evident to all Posterity, that his *Misfortunes* were the meer Consequence of his perverse *Judgment*.

First he argues from *the Experience of those Troubles* which both he and his Son have had, to the Improvement of their *Piety* and *Patience*: and by the way bears Witness in his own Word, that the corrupt Education of his Youth, which was but glanc'd at only in some former passages of this answer, was a thing neither of mean consideration, nor untruly charg'd upon him or his Son: himself confessing here, that *Court delights are prone either to root up all true Vertue and Honour, or to be contented only with some Leaves and withering Formalities of them, without any real fruits tending to the publick Good*: Which presents him still in his own Words another *Rehoboam*, *soften'd* by a far worse Court then *Solomons*, *and so corrupted by Flatteries*, which he affirms to be *inseparable*, to the overturning of all *Peace*, and the loss of his own Honour and Kingdoms. That he came therefore thus bred up and nurtur'd to the Throne, far worse then *Rehoboam*, unless he be of those who equaliz'd his Father to King *Solomon*, we have here his own confession. And how voluptuously, how idlely reigning in the Hands of other Men, he either tyranniz'd or trifl'd away those Seventeen Years of Peace, without Care, or Thought, as if to be a King had been nothing else in his apprehension, but to eat and drink, and have his will, and take his pleasure, tho there be who can relate his Domestic Life to the exactness of a Diary, there shall be here no mention made. This yet we might have then foreseen, that he who spent his leisure so remisly and so corrupdy to his own pleasing, would one day or other be worse busied and imploy'd to our sorrow. And

that

that he acted in good earneſt what *Rehoboam* did but threaten, to make his little finger heavier then his Fathers Loyns, and to whip us with his two twiſted Scorpions, both Temporal and Spiritual Tyranny, all his Kingdoms have feſt. What good uſe he made afterward of his adverſity, both his Impenitence and Obſtinacy to the end (for he was no *Manaſſeh*) and the ſequel of theſe his meditated Reſolutions, abundantly expreſs; retaining, commending, teaching to his Son all thoſe putrid and pernicious Documents both of State and of Religion, inſtill'd by wicked Doctors, and receiv'd by him as in a Veſſel nothing better ſeaſon'd, which were the firſt occaſion both of his own and all our Miſeries. And if he in the beſt maturity of his Years and Underſtanding made no better uſe to himſelf or others of his ſo long and manifold Afflictions, either looking up to God, or looking down upon the Reaſon of his own Affairs, there can be no probability that his Son, bred up, not in the ſoft Effeminacies of Court only, but in the rugged and more boiſterous Licenſe of undiſciplin'd Camps and Garriſons, for Years unable to reflect with Judgment upon his own Condition, and thus ill inſtructed by his Father, ſhould give his mind to walk by any other Rules then theſe bequeath'd him as on the Death-bed of his Father, and as the choiceſt of all that Experience, which his moſt ſerious Obſervation and Retirement in good or evil Days had taught him. *David* indeed by ſuffering without juſt Cauſe, learnt that Meekneſs and that Wiſdom by Adverſity, which made him much the fitter Man to Reign. But they who ſuffer as Oppreſſors, Tyrants, Violaters of Law, and Perſecuters of Reformation, without appearance of repenting, if they once get hold again of that Dig-

nity and Power which they had loſt, are but whetted and intag'd by what they ſuffer'd, againſt thoſe whom they look upon as them that cauſed their Sufferings.

How he hath been *ſubject to the ſcepter of Gods Word and Spirit*, though acknowledg'd to be the *beſt Government*, and what his *diſpenſation of Civil Power* hath been, with what *Juſtice*, and what *Honour to public Peace*, it is but looking back upon the whole Catalogue of his Deeds, and that will be ſufficient to remember us. *The Cup of Gods Phyſic*, as he calls it, what alteration it wrought in him to a firm *healthfulneſs* from any Surfeit, or exceſs whereof the People generally thought him Sick, if any Man would go about to prove, we have his own Teſtimony following here, that it wrought none at all:

Firſt, he hath the ſame fix'd Opinion and Eſteem of his old *Epheſian* Goddeſs, call'd the *Church of England*, as he had ever; and charges ſtrictly his Son after him to perſevere in that Anti-papal Schiſm (for it is not much better) as that *which will be neceſſary both for his Soul's, and the Kingdoms Peace*. But if this can be any foundation of the Kingdoms Peace, which was the firſt cauſe of our Diſtractions, let common Senſe be judge. It is a Rule and Principle worthy to be known by Chriſtians, that no Scripture, no nor ſo much as any Ancient Creeds, binds our Faith, or our Obedience to any Church whatſoever, denominated by a particular name; far leſs, if it be diſtinguiſht by a ſeveral Government from that which is indeed Catholic. No Man was ever bid be ſubject to the Church of *Corinth*, *Rome*, or *Aſia*, but to the Church without Addition, as it held faithful to the Rules of Scripture, and the Government Eſtabliſht in all

places

places by the Apoſtles; which at firſt was univerſally the ſame in all Churches and Congregations; not differing or diſtinguiſht by the diverſity of Countries, Territories, or Civil Bounds. That Church that from the name of a diſtinct place takes Authority to ſet up a diſtinct Faith or Government, is a Schiſm and Faction, not a Church. It were an Injury to Condemn the Papiſt of Abſurdity and Contradiction, for adhering to his Catholic Romiſh Religion, if we, for the pleaſure of a King and his Politic Conſiderations, ſhall adhere to a Catholic *Engliſh*.

But ſuppoſe the Church of *England* were, as it ought to be, how is it to us the ſafer by being ſo named and eſtabliſht, when as that very Name and Eſtabliſhment, by his contriving, or approbation, ſerv'd for nothing elſe but to delude us and amuſe us, while the Church of *England* was almoſt chang'd into the Church of *Rome*. Which as every Man knows in general to be true, ſo the particular Treaties and Tranſactions tending to that concluſion, are at large diſcover'd in a Book Intitl'd the *Engliſh Pope*. But when the People, diſcerning theſe abuſes, began to call for Reformation, in order to which the Parliament demanded of the King to uneſtabliſh that Prelatical Government, which without Scripture had uſurpt over us, ſtrait, as *Pharaoh* accus'd of Idleneſs the *Iſraelites* that ſought leave to go and Sacrifice to God, he lays Faction to their charge. And that we may not hope to have ever any thing Reform'd in the Church either by him or his Son, he forwarns him, *That the Devil of Rebellion doth moſt commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation*: and ſays enough to make him hate it, as the worſt of Evils, and the bane of his Crown: nay he Councils him to

let nothing seem little or despicable to him, so as not speedily and effectually to suppress Errors and Schisms. Whereby we may perceive plainly that our Consciences were destin'd to the same Servitude and Persecution, if not worse then before, whether under him or if it should so happen, under his Son; who count all Protestant Churches Erroneous and Schismatical, which are not Episcopal. His next Precept is concerning our Civil Liberties; which by his sole voice and predominate will must be circumscrib'd, and not permitted to extend a hands breadth further then his intepretation of *the Laws already settl'd.* And although all human Laws are but the Off-spring of the frailty, that fallibility and imperfection which was in their Authors, whereby many Laws, in the change of ignorant and obscure Ages, may be found both scandalous, and full of Grievance to their Posterity that made them, and no Law is further good, then mutable upon just occasion, yet if the removing of an old Law, or the making of a new would save the Kingdom, we shall not have it unless his Arbitrary Voice will so far slacken the stiff curb of his Prerogative, as to grant it us; who are as free born to make our own Laws, as our Fathers were who made these we have. Where are then the *English* Liberties which we boast to have been left us by our Progenitors? To that he answers, that *Our Liberties consist in the Enjoyments of the fruits of our Industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which we our selves have consented.* First, for the enjoyment of those Fruits, which our Industry and Labours have made our own upon our own, what priviledge is that, above what the *Turks*, *Jews* and *Moors* enjoy under the *Turkish* Monarchy? For without that kind of Justice, which is also in *Argiers*, among Thieves and Pirates between themselves, no kind of

of Government, no Society, juſt or unjuſt could ſtand; no combination or conſpiracy could ſtick together. Which he alſo acknowledges in theſe words: *That if the Crown upon his head be ſo heavy as to oppreſs the whole body, the weakneſs of inferiour members cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety to the head; but that a neceſſary debilitation* muſt follow. So that this Liberty of the Subject concerns himſelf and the Subſiſtence of his own regal power in the firſt place, and before the conſideration of any right belonging to the Subject. We expect therefore ſomething more, that muſt diſtinguiſh Free Government from Slaviſh. But inſtead of that, this King, though ever talking and proteſting as ſmooth as now, ſuffer'd it in his own hearing to be Preacht and Pleaded without controul, or check, by them whom he moſt favour'd and upheld, that the Subject had no property of his own Goods, but that all was the Kings right.

Next for the *benefit of thoſe Laws to which we our ſelves have conſented*, we never had it under him; for not to ſpeak of Laws ill executed, when the Parliament, and in them the People have conſented to divers Laws, and, according to our ancient Rights, demanded them, he took upon him to have a negative will, as the tranſcendent and ultimate Law above all our Laws; and to rule us forcibly by Laws to which we our ſelves did not conſent, but complain'd of. Thus theſe two heads wherein the utmoſt of his allowance here will give our Liberties leave to conſiſt, the one of them ſhall be ſo far only made good to us, as may ſupport his own intereſt, and Crown, from *ruin* or *debilitation*; and ſo far *Turkiſh* Vaſſals enjoy as much liberty under *Mahomet* and the Grand Signior: the other we neither yet have enjoy'd under him, nor

were

were ever like to do under the Tyranny of a negative voice, which he claims above the unanimous Consent and Power of a whole Nation virtually in the Parliament.

In which negative voice to have been caſt by the Doom of War, and put to death by thoſe who vanquiſht him in their own defence, he reckons to himſelf more then a negative *Martyrdom*. But Martyrs bear witneſs to the truth, not to themſelves: If I bear witneſs of my ſelf, ſaith *Chriſt*, my witneſs is not true. He who writes himſelf *Martyr* by his own inſcription, is like an ill Painter, who, by writing on the ſhapeleſs Picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tell Paſſengers what ſhape it is; which elſe no Man could imagin: no more then how a Martyrdom can belong to him, who therefore dyes for his Religion becauſe it is *eſtabliſht*. Certainly if *Agrippa* had turn'd Chriſtian, as he was once turning, and had put to death *Scribes* and *Phariſees* for obſerving the Law of *Moſes*, and refuſing Chriſtianity, they had dy'd a truer Martyrdom. For thoſe Laws were eſtabliſht by God and *Moſes*, theſe by no warrantable Authors of Religion, whoſe Laws in all other beſt reformed Churches are rejected. And if to dye for an eſtabliſhment of Religion be Martyrdom, then *Romiſh Prieſts* executed for that which had ſo many hundred years been eſtabliſht in this Land, are no worſe Martyrs then he. *Laſtly*, if to dye for *the teſtimony of his own conſcience*, be enough to make him Martyr, what Heretic dying for direct Blaſphemy, as ſome have done conſtantly, may not boaſt a Martyrdom? As for the conſtitution or repeal of Civil Laws, that power lying only in the Parliament, which he by the very Law of his Coronation was to grant them, not to debar them, nor to preſerve a leſſer Law with the

contempt

contempt and violation of a greater, it will conclude him not ſo much as in a Civil and Metaphorical Senſe to have dy'd a Martyr of our Laws, but a plain Tranſgreſſor of them. And ſhould the Parliament, endu'd with Legiſlative power, make our Laws, and be after to diſpute them piece meal with the Reaſon, Conſcience, Humour, Paſſion, Fancy, Folly, Obſtinacy, or other ends of one Man, whoſe ſole Word and Will ſhall baffle and unmake what all the Wiſdom of a Parliament hath been deliberately framing, what a ridiculous and contemptible thing a Parliament would ſoon be, and what a baſe unworthy Nation we, who boaſt our Freedom, and ſend them with the manifeſt peril of their lives to preſerve it, they who are not mark'd by deſtiny for Slaves, may apprehend. In this ſervile condition to have kept us ſtill under hatches, he both reſolves here to the laſt, and ſo inſtructs his Son.

As to thoſe offer'd Condeſcenſions of *charitable connivence, or toleration*, if we conſider what went before, and what follows, they moulder into nothing. For what with not ſuffering *ever ſo little* to *ſeem a deſpicable* Schiſm, without effectual ſuppreſſion, as he warn'd him before, and what with *no oppoſition of Law, Government, or eſtabliſht Religion* to be permitted, which is his following Proviſo, and wholly within his own conſtruction, what a miſerable and ſuſpected toleration, under Spies, and haunting Promoters we ſhould enjoy, is apparent. Beſides that it is ſo far beneath the Honour of a Parliament and Free Nation, to beg and ſupplicate the Godſhip of one frail Man, for the bare and ſimple toleration of what they all conſent to be both juſt, pious, and beſt pleaſing to God, while that which is erroneous, unjuſt, and miſchievous in the Church or State, ſhall by him alone againſt

gainſt them all, be kept up and eſtabliſht; and they cenſur'd the while for a *Covetous, Ambitious, and Sacrilegious Faction.*

Another Bait to allure the People, is the charge he lays upon his Son, to be tender of them. Which if we ſhould believe in part, becauſe they are his Herd, his Cattle, the Stock upon his ground, as he accounts them, whom to waſt and deſtroy would undo himſelf, yet the inducement which he brings to move him, renders the motion it ſelf ſomething ſuſpicious. For if Princes *need no palliations*, as he tells his Son, wherefore is it that he himſelf hath ſo oft'n us'd them? Princes, of all other Men, have not more change of Rayment in their Ward-robes, then variety of Shifts and *palliations* in their Solemn Actings and Pretence to the People.

To try next if he can inſnare the prime Men of thoſe who have oppos'd him, whom, more truly then his meaning was, he calls the *Patrons and Vindicators of the People*, he gives out *Indemnity*, and offers *Acts of Oblivion*. But they who with a good conſcience and upright heart, did their civil duties in the ſight of God, and in their ſeveral places, to reſiſt Tyranny, and the violence of Superſtition banded both againſt them, he may be ſure will never ſeek to be forgiv'n that, which may be juſtly attributed to their immortal praiſe, nor will aſſent ever to the guilty blotting out of thoſe Actions before Men, by which their Faith aſſures them they chiefly ſtand approv'd, and are had in remembrance before the throne of God.

He exhorts his Son *not to ſtudy revenge*. But how far he, or at leaſt they about him, intend to follow that exhortation, was ſeen lately at the *Hague*; and by what attempts were likewiſe made

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In other places. How implacable they would be, it will be wisdom and our safety to believe rather, and prevent, then to make Tryal. And it will concern the multitude, though courted here, to take heed how they seek to hide or colour their own fickleness and instability with a bad repentance of their well-doing, and their fidelity to the better cause; to which at first so chearfully and conscientiously they joyn'd themselves.

He returns again to extol *the Church of England*, and again requires his Son by the joynt authority of *a Father and a King, not to let his heart receive the least check, or disaffection against it.* And not without cause, for by that means having sole influence upon the Clergy, and they upon the People, *after long search and many disputes*, he could not possibly find a more compendious and Politic way to uphold and settle Tyranny, then by subduing first the Consciences of Vulgar Men, with the insensible Poyson of their slavish Doctrin: for then the Body and besotted Mind without much Reluctancy was likeliest to admit the Yoke.

He commends also *Parliaments held with Freedom and with Honour.* But I would ask how that can be, while he only must be the sole free Person in that number; and would have the power with his unaccountable denyal, to dishonour them by rejecting all their Counsels, to confine their Law-giving Power, which is the Foundation of our Freedom, and to change at his pleasure the very name of a Parliament into the name of a Faction.

The Conclusion therefore must needs be quite contrary to what he concludes; that nothing can be more *unhappy*, more dishonourable, more unsafe *for all*, then when a wise *grave, and honourable Parliament*

ment shall have labour'd, debated, argu'd, consulted, and, as he himself speaks, *contributed* for the public good *all their Counsels in common*, to be then frustrated, disappointed, deny'd and repuls'd by the single whiff of a negative, from the mouth of one wilful Man; nay to be blasted, to be struck as mute and motionless as a Parliament of Tapstry in the Hangings; or else after all their pains and travel to be dissolv'd, and cast away like so many Naughts in Arithmetick, unless it be to turn the O of their insignificance into a lamentation with the People, who had so vainly sent them. For this is not *to enact all things in public consent*, as he would have us be perswaded, this is to enact nothing but by the private consent and leave of one not negative Tyrant; this is the mischief without remedy, a stifling and obstructing evil that hath no vent, no outler, no passage through: Grant him this, and the Parliament hath no more Freedom then if it sate in his Noose, which which he pleases to draw together with one twitch of his Negative, shall throttle a whole Nation, to the wish of *Caligula* in one neck. This with the power of *Militia* in his own hands over our Bodies and Estates, and the Prelates to enthral our consciences either by fraud or force, is the sum of that happiness and liberty we were to look for, whether in his own restitution, or in these precepts giv'n to his Son. Which unavoidably would have set us in the same state of misery, wherein we were before; and have either compell'd us to submit like Bond-slaves, or put us back to a second wandring over that horrid Wilderness of distraction and Civil Slaughter, which, not without the strong and miraculous hand of God assisting us, we have measur'd out and survived. And who knows, if we make so slight of this incomparable

deliverance,

deliverance, which God hath beſtow'd upon us, but that we ſhall like thoſe fooliſh *Iſraelites*, who depos'd God and *Samuel* to ſet up a King, *Cry out* one day *becauſe of our King*, which we have been mad upon; and then God, as he foretold them, will no more deliver us.

There remains now but little more of his diſcourſe, whereof yet to take a ſhort view will not be amiſs. His words make ſemblance as if he were magnanimouſly exerciſing himſelf, and ſo teaching his Son, *To want as well as to wear a Crown*; and would ſeem to account it *not worth taking up or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious terms*; and yet to his very laſt did nothing more induſtriouſly then ſtrive to take up and enjoy again his ſequeſter'd Crown, upon the moſt ſordid, diſloyal, diſhonourable and irreligious terms, not of making peace only, but of joyning and incorporating with the Murderous *Iriſh*, formerly by himſelf declar'd againſt, for *wicked and deteſtable Rebels, odious to God and all good Men.* And who but thoſe Rebels now, are the chief ſtrength and confidence of his Son; while the Presbyter *Scot* that woes and ſollicites him, is neglected and put off, as if no terms were to him ſordid, irreligious and diſhonourable, but the *Scottiſh* and *Presbyterian.*

He bids his Son *Keep to the true Principles of Piety, Vertue and Honour, and he ſhall never want a Kingdom.* And I ſay, People of *England*, keep ye to thoſe Principles, and ye ſhall never want a King. Nay after ſuch a fair deliverance as this, with ſo much fortitude and valour ſhown againſt a Tyrant, that People that ſhould ſeek a King, claiming what this Man claims, would ſhew themſelves to be by nature Slaves, and arrant Beaſts; not fit for that liberty which they cry'd out and bellow'd for, but

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fitter to be led back again into their old Bondage, like a sort of a clamouring and fighting Brutes, broke loose, that know not how to use or possess the liberty which they fought for.

The last Sentence, whereon he seems to venture the whole weight of all his former Reasons and Argumentations, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King cannot be parted, without the sin and infelicity of a People*, is contrary to the plain teaching of Christ, that *No man can serve two Masters*, but, if he hold to the one, he must reject and forsake the other. If God then, and earthly Kings be for the most part not several only but opposite Masters, it will as oft happ'n, that they who will serve their King must forsake their God; and they who will serve God, must forsake their King; which then will neither be their sin, nor their infelicity; but their wisdom, their piety, and their true happiness: as to be deluded by these unsound and futile ostentations here, would be their misery.

XXVIII. *Intitl'd Meditations upon Death.*

IT might be well thought by him who reads no further then the Title of this last Essay, that it requir'd no Answer. For all other human things are disputed, and will be variously thought of to the Worlds end. But this business of Death is a plain case, and admits no controversie: In that center all Opinions meet. Nevertheless, since out of those few mortifying hours that should have been interest to themselves, and most at peace from all passion, and disquiet, he can afford spare time to inveigh bitterly against that Justice which was done upon him, it will be needful

heedful to say something in defence of those proceedings; though briefly, in regard so much on this Subject hath been written lately.

It happn'd once, as we find in *Esdras*, and *Josephus*, Authors not less believ'd then any under sacred, to be a great and Solemn debate in the Court of *Darius*, what thing was to be counted strongest of all other. He that could resolve this, in reward of his excelling Wisdom, should be clad in Purple, drink in Gold, sleep on a Bed of Gold, and sit next to *Darius*. None but they doubtless who were reputed wise, had the Question propounded to them. Who after some respite given them by the King to consider, in full Assembly of all his Lords and gravest Counsellors, return'd severally what they thought. The first held that Wine was strongest; another that the King was strongest. But *Zorobabel* Prince of the Captive *Jews*, and Heir to the Crown of *Judah*, being one of them, prov'd Women to be stronger then the King, for that he himself had seen a Concubin take his Crown from off his Head to set it upon her own: And others besides him have lately seen the like Feat done, and not in jest. Yet he prov'd on, and it was so yeilded by the King himself, and all his Sages, that neither Wine nor Women, nor the King, but Truth, of all other things was the strongest. For me, though neither asked, nor in a Nation that gives such rewards to Wisdom, I shall pronounce my sentence somewhat different from *Zorobabel*; and shall defend, that either Truth and Justice are all one, for Truth is but Justice in our knowledge, and Justice is but Truth in our Practice, and he indeed so explains himself in saying that with Truth is no accepting of Persons, which is the property of Justice; or else, if there be any odds, that Justice, though not

ſtronger then Truth, yet by her office is to put forth and exhibit more ſtrength in the affairs of mankind. For Truth is properly no more then Contemplation; and her utmoſt efficiency is but teaching: but Juſtice in her very eſſence is all ſtrength and activity; and hath a Sword put into her hand, to uſe againſt all violence and oppreſſion on the Earth. She it is moſt truly, who accepts no Perſon, and exempts none from the ſeverity of her ſtroke. She never ſuffers injury to prevail, but when falſhood firſt prevailes over Truth; and that alſo is a kind of Juſtice done on them who are ſo deluded. Though wicked Kings and Tyrants counterfeit her Sword, as ſome did that Buckler, fabl'd to fall from Heaven into the Capitol, yet ſhe communicates her power to none but ſuch as like her ſelf are juſt, or at leaſt will do Juſtice. For it were extream partiallity and injuſtice, the flat denyal and overthrow of her ſelf, to put her own Authentic Sword into the hand of an unjuſt and wicked Man, or ſo far to accept and exalt one mortal Perſon above his equals, that he alone ſhall have the puniſhing of all other Men tranſgreſſing, and not receive like puniſhment from Men, when he himſelf ſhall be found the higheſt tranſgreſſor.

We may conclude therefore that Juſtice, above all other things, is and ought to be the ſtrongeſt: She is the ſtrength, the Kingdom, the Power and Majeſty of all Ages. Truth her ſelf would ſubſcribe to this, though *Darius* and all the Monarchs of the World ſhould deny. And if by ſentence thus written it were my happineſs to ſet free the minds of *Engliſh* Men from longing to return poorly under that Captivity of Kings, from which the ſtrength and ſupream Sword of Juſtice hath deliver'd them, I ſhall have done a work not much inferior

ſerior to that of *Zorobable*: who by well praiſing and extolling the force of Truth, in that contemplative ſtrength conquer'd *Darius*; and freed his Country, and the People of God from the Captivity of *Babylon*. Which I ſhall yet not deſpair to do, if they in this Land whoſe minds are yet Captive, be but as ingenuous to acknowledge the ſtrength and ſupremacy of Juſtice, as that Heathen King was, to confeſs the ſtrength of Truth: or let them but as he did, grant that, and they will ſoon perceive that Truth reſigns all her outward ſtrength to Juſtice: Juſtice therefore muſt needs be ſtrongeſt, both in her own and in the ſtrength of Truth. But if a King may do among Men whatſoever is his will and pleaſure, and notwithſtanding be unaccountable to Men, then contrary to this magnifi'd Wiſdom of *Zorobable*, neither Truth nor Juſtice, but the King is ſtrongeſt of all other things: which that Perſian Monarch himſelf in the midſt of all his pride and glory durſt not aſſum.

Let us ſee therefore what this King hath to affirm, why the Sentence of Juſtice and the weight of that Sword which ſhe delivers into the hands of Men, ſhould be more partial to him offending, then to all others of human race. Firſt he pleads that *No Law of God or Man gives to Subjects any power of judicature without or againſt him.* Which aſſertion ſhall be prov'd in every part to be moſt untrue. The firſt expreſs Law of God giv'n to mankind, was that to *Noah*, as a Law in general to all the Sons of Men. And by that moſt Ancient and Univerſal Law, *Whoſoever ſheddeth Mans Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed*; we find here no exception. If a King therefore do this, to a King, and that by Men alſo, the ſame ſhall be done. This in the Law

of *Moſes*, which came next, ſeveral times is repeated, and in one place remarkably, *Numb.* 35. *Ye ſhall take no ſatisfaction for the life of a murtherer, but he ſhall ſurely be put to death: the Land cannot be cleanſed of the Blood that is ſhed therein*, but by the Blood of him that ſhed it. This is ſo ſpoken, as that which concern'd all *Iſrael*, not one Man alone to ſee perform'd; and if no ſatisfaction were to be tak'n, then certainly no exception. Nay the King, when they ſhould ſet up any, was to obſerve the whole Law, and not only to ſee it done, but to *do it*; *that his heart might not be lifted up above his Brethren*, to dream of vain and reaſonleſs prerogatives or exemptions, whereby the Law it ſelf muſt needs be founded in unrighteouſneſs.

And were that true, which is moſt falſe, that all Kings are the Lords Anointed, it were yet abſur'd to think that the Anointment of God, ſhould be as it were a charm againſt Law; and give them priviledge who puniſh others, to ſin themſelves unpuniſhably. The High Prieſt was the Lords Anointed as well as any King, and with the ſame Conſecrated Oyl: yet *Solomon* had put to death *Abiather*, had it not been for other reſpects then that Anointment. If God himſelf ſay to Kings, *Touch not mine anointed*, meaning his choſen People, as is evident in that Pſalm, yet no Man will argue thence, that he protects them from Civil Laws if they offend, then certainly, though *David* as a private Man, and in his own cauſe, fear'd to lift his hand againſt the Lords Anointed, much leſs can this forbid the Law, or diſarm juſtice from having Legal Power againſt any King. No other Supream Magiſtrate in what kind of Government ſoever lays claim to any ſuch enormous Priviledge; wherefore then ſhould any King who is but one kind of Magiſtrate,

and

and ſet over the People for no other end then they?

Next in order of time to the Laws of *Moſes*, are thoſe of Chriſt, who declares profeſſedly his judicature to be Spiritual, abſtract from civil managements, and therefore leaves all Nations to their own particular Laws, and way of Government. Yet becauſe the Church hath a kind of Juriſdiction within her own bounds, and that alſo, though in proceſs of time much corrupted and plainly turn'd into a corporate judicature, yet much approved by this King, it will be firm enough and valid againſt him, if Subjects, by the Laws of Church alſo, be *inveſted with a power of judicature* both without and againſt their King, though pretending, and by them acknowledg'd *next and immediately under Chriſt ſupream Head and Governour*. *Theodoſius* the Emperor having made a ſlaughter of the *Theſſalonians* for ſedition, but too cruelly, was excommunicated to his face by Saint *Ambroſe*, who was his Subject: and excommunion is the utmoſt of Eccleſiaſtical Judicature, a ſpiritual putting to death. But this, ye will ſay, was only an example. Read then the Story; and it will appear, both that *Ambroſe* avouch'd it for the Law of God, and *Theodoſius* confeſt it of his own accord to be ſo; *and that the Law of God was not to be made void in him, for any reverence to his Imperial power.* From hence, not to be tedious, I ſhall paſs into our own Land of *Britain*; and ſhow that Subjects here have exercis'd the utmoſt of ſpiritual Judicature and more then Spiritual againſt their King, his Predeceſſors. *Vortiger* for committing inceſt with his Daughter, was by Saint *German*, at that time his Subject, curs'd and condemn'd in a Britiſh Councel about the Year 448; and thereupon ſoon after was de-

pos'd. *Mauricus* a King in *Wales*, for breach of Oath, and the murther of *Cynetus* was excommunicated, and curst with all his Off-spring, by *Oudoceus* Bishop of *Landaff* in full Synod, about the Year 560; and not restor'd, till he had repented. *Morcant* another King in *Wales* having slain *Friog* his Uncle, was fain to come in Person and receive judgment from the same Bishop and his Clergy; who upon his Penitence acquitted him, for no other cause then least the Kingdom should be distitute of a Successor in the Royal Line. These examples are of the Primitive, British, and Episcopal Church; long ere they had any commerce or communion with the Church of *Rome*. What Power afterward of deposing Kings, and so consequently of putting them to death, was assum'd and Practis'd by the Canon-Law, I omit as a thing generally known. Certainly if whole Councels of the Romish Church have in the midst of their darkness discern'd so much of Truth, as to Decree at *Constance*, and at *Basil*, and many of them to avouch at *Trent* also, that a Councel is above the Pope, and may judge him, though by them not deny'd to be the Vicar of Christ, we in our clearer light may be asham'd not to discern further, that a Parliament is, by all equity, and right, above a King, and may judge him, whose reasons and pretensions to hold of God only, as his immediate Vicegerent, we know how far fetch'd they are, and insufficient.

As for the Laws of Man, it would ask a Volume to repeat all that might be cited in this point against him from all Antiquity. In Greece, *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*, and by succession King of *Argos*, was in that Country judg'd and condemn'd to death for killing his Mother: whence escaping, he

he was judg'd again, though a Stranger, before the great Counsel of *Areopagus* in *Athens*. And this memorable Act of Judicature, was the first that brought the Justice of that grave Senate into Fame and High Estimation over all *Greece* for many Ages after. And in the same City Tyrants were to undergo Legal Sentence by the Laws of *Solon*. The Kings of *Sparta*, though descended lineally from *Hercules* esteem'd a God among them, were oft'n judged and sometimes put to death by the most just and renowned Laws of *Lycurgus*; who, though a King, thought it most unequal to bind his Subjects by any Law, to which he bound not himself. In *Rome* the Laws made by *Valerius Publicola*, and what the Senate decreed against *Nero*, that he should be judg'd and punish'd according to the Laws of their Ancestors, and what in like manner was decreed against other Emperours, is vulgarly known. And that the Civil Law warrants like Power of Judicature to Subjects against Tyrants, is written clearly by the best and famousest Civilians. For if it was decreed by *Theodosius*, and stands yet firm in the Code of *Justinian*, that the Law is above the Emperor, then certainly the Emperor being under Law, the Law may judge him, and if judge him, may punish him proving Tyrannous: how else is the Law above him, or to what purpose. These are necessary deductions; and thereafter hath been done in all Ages and Kingdoms, oftner then to be here recited.

But what need we any further search after the Laws of other Lands, for that which is so fully and so plainly set down lawful in our own. Where Ancient Books tell us, *Bracton*, *Fleta*, and others, that the King is under Law, and inferiour to his Court of Parliament; that although his

place

Place *to do Juſtice* be higheſt, yet that he ſtands as liable *to receive Juſtice*, as the meaneſt of his Kingdom. Nay *Alfred* the moſt worthy King, and by ſome accounted firſt Abſolute Monarch of the Saxons here, ſo ordain'd; as is cited out of an Ancient Law Book call'd the *Mirror*; in *Rights of the Kingdom*, *p.* 31. where it is complain'd on, *As the Sovereign abuſe of all*, that *the King ſhould be deem'd above the Law, whereas he ought be Subject to it by his Oath*: Of which Oath Anciently it was the leaſt clauſe, that the King *ſhould be as liable, and obedient to ſuffer right, as others of his People.* And indeed it were but fond and ſenſleſs, that the King ſhould be accountable to every petty ſuit in leſſer Courts, as we all know he was, and not be Subject to the Judicature of Parliament in the main matters of our common ſafety or deſtruction; that he ſhould be anſwerable in the Ordinary courſe of Law for any wrong done to a private Perſon, and not anſwerable in Court of Parliament for deſtroying the whole Kingdom. By all this, and much more that might be added as in an Argument overcopious rather then barren, we ſee it manifeſt that all Laws both of God and Man are made without exemption of any Perſon whomſoever; and that if Kings preſume to overtop the Law by which they Reign for the public good, they are by Law to be reduc'd into order: and that can no way be more juſtly, then by thoſe who exalted them to that high place. For who ſhould better underſtand their own Laws, and when they are tranſgreſt, then they who are govern'd by them, and whoſe conſent firſt made them: and who can have more right to take knowledge of things done within a Free Nation then they within themſelves?

Thoſe

Thoſe objected Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy we ſwore, not to his Perſon, but as it was inveſted with his Authority; and his Authority was by the People firſt giv'n him conditionally, in Law and under Law and under Oath alſo for the Kingdoms good, and not otherwiſe: the Oaths then were interchang'd, and mutual; ſtood and fell together; he ſwore fidelity to his truſt; not as a deluding Ceremony, but as a real condition of their admitting him for a King; and the Conqueror himſelf ſwore it oftner then at his Crowning: they ſwore Homage, and Fealty to his Perſon in that truſt. There was no reaſon why the Kingdom ſhould be further bound by Oaths to him, then he by his Coronation Oath to us, which he hath every way broken: and having brok'n, the Ancient Crown-Oath of *Alfred* above mention'd, conceals not his penalty.

As for the Covenant, if that be meant, certainly no diſcreet Perſon can imagin it ſhould bind us to him in any ſtricter ſenſe then thoſe Oaths formerly. The Acts of Hoſtility which we receiv'd from him, were no ſuch dear obligements that we ſhould owe him more fealty and defence for being our Enemy, then we could before when we took him only for a King. They were accus'd by him and his Party to pretend Liberty and Reformation, but to have no other end then to make themſelves great, and to deſtroy the Kings Perſon and Authority. For which reaſon they added that third Article, teſtifying to the World, that as they were reſolv'd to endeavor firſt a Reformation in the Church, to extirpate Prelacy, to preſerve the Rights of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, ſo they intended, ſo far as it might conſiſt with the preſervation and defence of theſe, to preſerve the Kings Perſon and Authority;

Authority; but not otherwiſe. As far as this comes to, they Covenant and Swear in the ſixth Article to preſerve and defend the Perſons and Authority of one another, and all thoſe that enter into that League; ſo that this Covenant gives no unlimitable exemption to the Kings Perſon, but gives to all as much defence and preſervation as to him, and to him as much as to their own Perſons, and no more; that is to ſay, in order and ſubordination to thoſe main ends for which we live and are a Nation of Men joyn'd in Society either Chriſtian or at leaſt human. But if the Covenant were made abſolute, to preſerve and defend any one whomſoever, without reſpect had, either to the true Religion, or thoſe other Superiour things to be defended and preſerv'd however, it cannot then be doubted, but that the Covenant was rather a moſt fooliſh, haſty, and unlawful Vow, then a deliberate and well-weigh'd Covenant; ſwearing us into labyrinths, and repugnances, no way to be ſolv'd or reconcil'd, and therefore no way to be kept: as firſt offending againſt the Law of God, to Vow the abſolute preſervation, defence, and maintaining of one Man though in his ſins and offences never ſo great and hainous againſt God or his Neighbour; and to except a Perſon from Juſtice, whereas his Law excepts none. *Secondly*, it offends againſt the Law of this Nation, wherein, as hath been prov'd, Kings in receiving Juſtice, and undergoing due Tryal, are not differenc'd from the meaneſt Subject. *Laſtly*, it contradicts and offends againſt the Covenant it ſelf, which vows in the fourth Article to bring to open Tryal and condign puniſhment all thoſe that ſhall be found guilty of ſuch Crimes and Delinquencies, whereof the King by his own Letters and other undeniable teſtimonies not brought to light till afterward, was found and convicted

convicted to be the chief Actor in what they thought him at the time of taking that Covenant, to be overrul'd only by evil Counsellors; and those, or whomsoever they should discover to be principal, they vow'd to try, *either by their own Supream Judicatories*, for so even then they call'd them, *or by others having power from them to that effect*. So that to have brought the King to condign punishment hath not broke the Covenant, but it would have broke the Covenant to have sav'd him from those Judicatories, which both Nations declar'd in that Covenant to be *Supream* against any Person whatsoever. And if the Covenant swore otherwise to preserve him then in the Preservation of true Religion and our Liberties, against which he fought, if not in Arms, yet in Resolution to his dying day, and now after death still fights against, in this his Book, the Covenant was better brok'n, then he sav'd. And God hath testifi'd by all propitious and evident signs, whereby in these latter times he is wont to testifie what pleases him; that such a Solemn, and for many Ages unexampl'd Act of due punishment, was no *mockery of Justice*, but a most greatful and well-pleasing Sacrifice. Neither was it *to cover their Perjury* as he accuses, but to uncover his Perjury to the Oath of his Coronation.

The rest of his discourse quite forgets the Title; and turns his Meditations upon death into obloquy and bitter vehemence against his *Judges and Accusers*; imitating therein, not our Saviour, but his Grand-mother *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, as also in the most of his other scruples, exceptions and evasions: and from whom he seems to have learnt, as it were by heart, or else by kind, that which is thought by his admirers to be the most vertuous, most manly, most Christian, and most Martyr-like both

both of his Words and Speeches here, and of his answers and behaviour at his Tryal.

It is a sad fate, he saith, *to have his Enemies both Accusers, Parties and Judges.* Sad indeed, but no sufficient Plea to acquit him from being so judg'd. For what Malefactor might not sometime plead the like? If his own crimes have made all Men his Enemies who else can judge him? They of the Powder-Plot against his Father might as well have pleaded the same. Nay at the Resurrection it may as well be pleaded, that the Saints who then shall judge the World, *are both Enemies, Judges, Parties, and Accusers.*

So much he thinks to abound in his own defence, that he undertakes an unmeasurable task; to bespeak *the singular Care and Protection of God over all Kings, as being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth.* But what Patrons they be, God in the Scripture oft enough hath expresst; and the Earth it self hath too long groan'd under the burden of their injustice, disorder and irreligion. Therefore *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles with links of Iron*, is an Honour belonging to his Saints; not to build *Babel*, which was *Nimrods* Work, the first King, *and the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel*, but to destroy it, especially that spiritual *Babel*: and first to overcome those *European* Kings, which receive their power, not from God, but from the beast; and are counted no better then his Ten Horns. *These shall hate the great Whore*, and yet *shall give their Kingdoms to the Beast that carries her; they shall commit Fornication with her*, and yet *shall burn her with fire*, and yet *shall lament the fall of Babylon*, where they fornicated with her.

Thus shall they be too and fro, doubtful and ambiguous in all their doings, until at last, *joyning*

their

their Armies with the Beaſt, whoſe power firſt rais'd them, they ſhall periſh with him by the *King of Kings* againſt whom they have rebell'd; and *the Fouls ſhall eat their fleſh*. This is their doom written, and the utmoſt that we find concerning them in theſe latter days; which we have much more cauſe to believe, then his unwarranted Revelation here, Prophecying what ſhall follow after his death, with the Spirit of Enmity, not of Saint *John*.

He would fain bring us out of conceit with the good *ſucceſs* which God hath vouchſaf'd us. We meaſure not our Cauſe by our ſucceſs, but our ſucceſs by our Cauſe. Yet certainly in a good Cauſe ſucceſs is a good confirmation; for God hath promis'd it to good Men almoſt in every Leaf of Scripture. If it argue not for us, we are ſure it argues not againſt us; but as much or more for us, then ill ſucceſs argues for them; for to the wicked, God hath denounc'd ill ſucceſs in all that they take in hand.

He hopes much of thoſe *ſofter tempers*, as he calls them, and *leſs advantag'd by his ruin, that their conſciences do already* gripe them. 'Tis true, there be a ſort of moody, hot-brain'd, and always unedify'd conſciences; apt to engage their Leaders into great and dangerous Affairs paſt retirement, and then, upon a ſudden qualm and ſwimming of their conſcience, to betray them baſely in the midſt of what was chiefly undertaken for their ſakes. Let ſuch Men never meet with any faithful Parliament to hazzard for them; never with any noble Spirit to conduct and lead them out, but let them live and dye in ſervile condition and their ſcrupulous queaſineſs, if no inſtruction will confirm them. Other there be in whoſe conſciences the loſs of gain, and thoſe advantages they hoped for, hath ſprung a ſudden Leak. Theſe are they that

cry

cry out the Covenant brok'n, and to keep it better ſlide back into neutrality, or joyn actually with Incendiaries and Malignants. But God hath eminently begun to puniſh thoſe, firſt in *Scotland*, then in *Vlſter*, who have provok'd him with the moſt hateful kind of mockery, to break his Covenant under pretence of ſtricteſt keeping it; and hath ſubjected them to thoſe Malignants, with whom, they ſcrupl'd not to be aſſociates. In God therefore we ſhall not fear what their falſe fraternity can do againſt us.

He ſeeks again with cunning words to turn our ſucceſs into our ſin. But might call to mind, that the Scripture ſpeaks of thoſe alſo, who *when God ſlew them, then ſought him*; yet did but *flatter him with their mouth, and ly'd to him with their tongues*; *for their heart was not right with him.* And there was one, who in the time of his affliction treſpaſs'd more againſt God; *This was that King Ahaz.*

He glories much in the forgiveneſs of his Enemies; ſo did his Grand-mother at her death. Wiſe Men would ſooner have believ'd him had he not ſo often told us ſo. But he hopes to erect *the Trophies of his Charity over us.* And Trophies of Charity no doubt will be as *glorious* as Trumpets before the Alms of Hypocrites; and more eſpecially the Trophies of ſuch an aſpiring charity as offers in his Prayer to ſhare Victory with Gods *compaſſion*, which is over all his Works. Such Prayers as theſe may perhaps catch the People, as was intended: but how they pleaſe God, is to be much doubted, though pray'd in ſecret, much leſs writt'n to be divulg'd. Which perhaps may gain him after death a ſhort, contemptible and ſoon fading reward; not what he aims at, to ſtir the conſtancy and ſolid firmneſs of any Wiſe Man

Man, or to unſettle the Conſcience of any knowing Chriſtian, if he could ever aim at a thing ſo hopeleſs, and above the genius of his *Cleric* elocution, but to catch the worthleſs approbation of an inconſtant, irrational and Image-doting rabble. The reſt, whom perhaps ignorance without malice, or ſome Error, leſs then fatal, hath for the time miſled, on this ſide Sorcery or Obduration, may find the grace and good Guidance to bethink themſelves, and recover.

THE

The CONTENTS.

I. *Upon the Kings calling this last Parliament.* pag. 1
II. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *Death.* 12
III. *Upon his going to the House of Commons.* 19
IV. *Upon the Insolence of the Tumults.* 24
V. *Upon the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, and for setling this, &c.* 35
VI. *Upon his Retirement from* Westminister. 43
VII. *Upon the Queens Departure.* 54
VIII. *Upon his repulse at* Hull, *and the Fate of the* Hothams. 57
IX. *Upon the Listing and Raising Armies, &c.* 65
X. *Upon their seizing the Magazins, Forts, &c.* 77
XI. *Upon the Nineteen Propositions, &c.* 86
XII. *Upon the Rebellion in* Ireland. 99
XIII. *Upon the calling in of the* Scots *and their coming.* 110
XIV. *Upon the Covenant.* 116
XV. *Upon the many Jealousies, &c.* 120
XVI. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.* 126
XVII. *Of the differences in Point of Church-Government.* 132
XVIII. *Upon the* Uxbridge *Treaty, &c.* 141
XIX. *Upon the various Events of the War.* 146
XX. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.* 151
XXI. *Upon His Letters tak'n and divulg'd.* 155
XXII. *Upon His going to the* Scots. 159
XXIII. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the King to the* English. 161
XXIV. *Upon the denying him the attendance of his Chaplains.* 163
XXV. *Upon his Penitential Meditations and Vows at* Holmby. 168
XXVI. *Upon the Armies Supprisal of the King at* Holmby. 173
XXVII. *Intitul'd to the Prince of* Wales. 179
XXVIII. *Intitul'd Meditations upon Death.* 192

FINIS.